

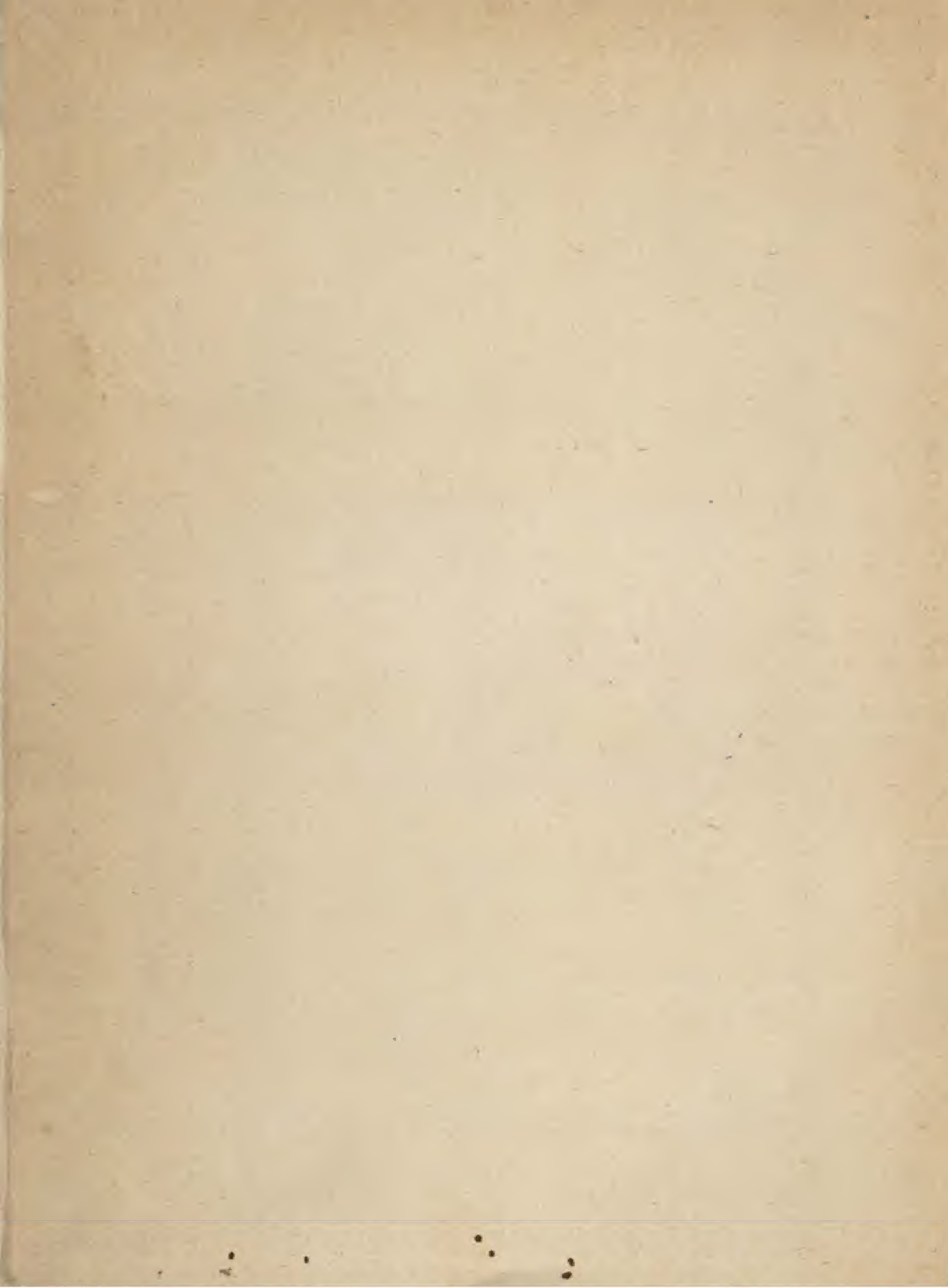
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ANCIENT PEOPLES OF THE PUNJAB

— The Udumbaras and the Salvās —

J. PRZYLUSKI

Translated from the French by Chitrabhanu Sen

10439

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INDIAN
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MUNSHI RAM MANOHAR LAL
Oriental & Foreign Book-Sellers
P.B. 1165; Nai Sarak, DELHI-6

Printed by Asitabha Guha from Quality Printers & Binders,
84, Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta 26, and published by
R. K. Maitra on behalf of the *Indian Studies : Past &
Present* from 3, Sambhunath Pundit Street, Calcutta 20.

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Publication date of this Reprint
12th. November, 1960.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Of Polish descent and French nationality, Professor J. Przyluski was born in 1885 and died on the 27th. October, 1944. The following is taken from an *Obituary Notice* by F. W. Thomas published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1950, pp. 98-9 :

"His original insight had opened, and his strength of judgment had assured, new approaches to little investigated areas of research in Indian linguistics, sociology, and religion. Receiving in 1907 a post in Indo-China, he found opportunity to deepen his original equipment in Chinese and Annamite language and lore, and came to hold a lectureship in the latter subject. From his intimate knowledge of the peoples he derived his conception of the interdependence of languages, usages, rites, and beliefs.

"As deputy Professor (1913) of Annamite at the *Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes* in Paris, he joined in organising instruction in the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Chinese languages. His wide linguistic competence, evidenced by papers contributed to the *Mémoires* of the Société de Linguistique or to *Scientia*, was recognised in 1928 by his election as Vice-President of the first Congress of Linguists and later by Meillet's choice of him, in *Les Langues du Monde*, as authority for nearly all the language groups of South-Eastern Asia. His venturesome Indian etymologies have needed, and may sometimes require, this background.

"To Buddhist studies Przyluski came by way of a long historico-geographical investigation of the data concerning N. W. India contained in the *Vinaya* of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādin sect. Two further articles also dealt with early populations of the same region. Ethnological and cultural matters figure largely in his very original discussions of the beginnings of Buddhism, its early practices, personalities, sects and councils ; of which work his treatise on the *Aśoka-avadāna* and that on the Council of Rājagṛha are the most substantial outcome. Extraneous elements in Buddhism, detected as Iranian, drew his attention to possible Western origins of early Indian, and not only Buddhist, conceptions : to which subject he frequently recurred, more especially with regard to a very widespread cult of a "Mother Goddess", discoverable also in Vedic, and in far earlier, India.

"Przyluski's accomplishment in Chinese did not confine his interest in Buddhism to its "Northern" developments. He held that all features of its manifold manifestation must be taken into account : he was founder in conjunction with Mdlle. Lalou, of the *Bibliographie Bouddhique*.

"Mdlle. Lalou, who on other occasions also lent her collaboration and whose finely appreciative memoir of Przyluski may shortly, it is hoped, be available in English, insists that behind the rain of multifarious notes there was always the developing structure of a great conception. Mdlle. Lalou informs us that during the war years Przyluski published *La Participation* (1940), *L'Evolution Humaine* (1943), and *Créer* (1943), as instalments thereof, and that he left in the press a volume on *La Grande Déesse*."

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The importance of the two papers presented here is obvious. Both appeared in the *Journal Asiatique* but had so far not been available in English translation. Thanks to the initiative of Sri Chitrabhanu Sen, we have been able to publish the papers in his English rendering in the *Indian Studies : Past & Present* in its July and October issues of 1960. While offering the reprint of these two articles, we have to express our sincere gratitude to the Société Asiatique, Paris, for the necessary permission so kindly granted.

Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya
Editor, *Indian Studies : Past & Present*

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

As a translator I have tried to remain faithful to the original texts. I gratefully acknowledge the co-operation of Sm. Mira Dasgupta in rendering the monograph on the Udumbaras into English. Sri Haridas Sinharay helped me by suggesting improvements in the English translation. I am also grateful to Madame Marcelle Lalou, the Managing Editor of the *Journal Asiatique*, who kindly permitted me to publish the English translation of the monographs.

The Asiatic Society,
Calcutta.
27. 10. '60.

Chitrabhanu Sen

THE UDUMBARAS : AN ANCIENT PEOPLE OF THE PANJAB J. PRZYLUSKI

The excavations made recently in India at Harappa and at Mohenjodaro have revealed the existence of many unknown civilizations.¹ Many monuments and numerous objects have been dug up. But who were the people contemporary to those articles ? We know nothing. Between the civilisations discovered at Harappa & Mohenjodaro and that which we know from the most ancient Vedic texts, the gap is undoubtedly considerable. In order to shorten the interval which, in our knowledge, separate the history from prehistory, I propose to group a certain number of facts concerning the ancient populations of the Punjab. I shall specially discuss the Udumbaras, whose coinage abundantly shows their prosperity before the beginning of the Christian era.

Since 1891, A. Cunningham devoted an article on the Udumbaras² in his work on the coins of ancient India (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 66-70), our knowledge on this subject has not progressed considerably. Cunningham described and reproduced (pl. IV) a series of coins of the Udumbaras found in the northern Punjab, principally in the district of Pathankot.³ These pieces of silver or copper, decorated with diverse symbols and legends in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī, have revealed to us the names of eight local kings. Many of these coins having been found with the half *dr.*, of Appollodotus, Cunningham admitted that those could be dated about 100 B.C. The same facts are recapitulated in the manual of E.J. Rapson (*Indian Coins*, Sec. 43). Recently at last, in the *Cambridge History of India*, 1922, Vol. I, p. 528-529, E.J. Rapson placed in the 2nd half of the 1st century of our era the reign

1. Cf. *Illustrated London News*, issues of September 20 & 27 and October 4, 1924, articles of J. Marshall, A. H. Sayce, C. J. Gadd and Sydney Smith. Also S. K. Chatterji, 'Dravidian Origins and the Beginnings of Indian Civilisation,' in the *Modern Review*, 1924, p. 665 &c.

2. The inhabitants of the land of the Udumbaras are called in Sanskrit Audumbara and Udumbara. In Prakrit of the coins the constant form is Odumbara and this latter form has been adopted by Cunningham.

The legends of these coins have been deciphered by Cunningham in a manner which is often incorrect. The renderings which are given in the recent works of Bergny and Rapson, require correction. Cf. specially J.R.A.S. 1900, p. 410-429.

3. Note besides the following remark of V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 161 : "I learn from M. Rawlins that Odumbara coins of Bhanumitra are 'quite common' at the foot of the Manaswāl plateau, Hoshyārpur District."

of Dharāghoṣa, king of the Udumbaras, whose coinage is imitated from that of the Śaka king Azilises. In short, our very meagre information is mainly numismatic. Some texts utilised so far hardly mention the Udumbaras; the coins give some other chronological indications of names, figures and symbols.

Before proceeding to illustrate certain points of religious and economic history of the Udumbaras, it is necessary to study, in bare summary, the geography of the upper Punjab.

Afterwards we shall have to find out what was the language of the Udumbaras, and the solution of this problem would involve many important consequences regarding linguistic evolution of the Indo-Aryan languages and inhabitation of India before the Christian era, and even in the prehistoric epoch.

1. THE ROUTE FROM THE GANGES TO KASHMIR

The *Vinaya* of the Mūla Sarvāstivādins⁴ relates a legend of Jīvaka and notably his journey to the northwest of India. The famous doctor obtains permission from the King of Takṣaśilā and goes to the town of Bhadrakāra,⁵ where he passes the summer. Afterwards, travelling through the country of the Udumbaras,⁶ he cures a disease and reaches at last the land of Rohitaka⁷ and of Mathurā (*Dul-va*, III, p. 99a &c; cf. Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 99 &c). The town of Bhadrakāra is named on several occasions in another account of the same *Vinaya*, in the legend of Meṇḍhaka (*Dul-va*, III, 42; *Divyāvadāna*, IX & X, p. 123 &c; cf. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indienne*, 2nd ed. p. 169 &c). Before arriving in this town the Buddha recommends 'the pious who will accompany him to bring clothes', undoubtedly because the temperature was cold (*Divyā.*, p. 125). Perhaps for the same reason Jīvaka chose to pass the summer there; he shall have come from the hotter regions in travelling to the land of the Udumbaras.

Burnouf (*Introduction*, p. 169n.i) has proposed to locate Bhadrakāra in the district of Bahraitch proper (north of Oudh). This conjecture was suggested to him by a text which Wilford had taken from the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* and placed the Bhadrakāras as one of the numerous tribes inhabiting the Madhyadeśa. But it follows from the text of the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 126), that the Tīrthyas, chased from the Madhyadeśa, had retired to Bhadrakāra. This name then cannot mean Madhyadeśa, at least in the 9th Chapter of the *Divyāvadāna*.

The Bhadrakāras are also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 14. 590) as the people who inhabited the kingdom of Jarāsandha. It is not without reason that Burnouf had connected the name of the town Bhadrakāra with the name of the people Bhadrakāra.

4. In writing the geographical portion of this essay, I have utilised many clues derived from the analysis of the *Vinaya* of the Mūla Sarvāstivādins. The detailed analysis of the *Vinaya*, which Mme. Marcelle Lalou agreed to work out with me, will appear in *Documents et travaux pour l'étude du Bouddhisme*.

5. Tibetan : Bzañ-byed.

6. Tibetan : U-dum-ba-ra.

7. Tibetan : Ro-hi-ta-ka.

It is true the city was in the northwest of India, while the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* placed the Bhadrakāras in the Madhyadeśa, but this is not a serious problem. We shall see afterwards, the Udumbaras are located in the texts sometimes in the northwest, sometimes in the Madhyadeśa, but actually the tribes of the same race had been scattered in various parts of India.

The ethnic Bhadrakāras make us think of the Madrakāras, who, according to ancient traditions, were a tribe of the Sālva or Śālva :

*udumbarāstilakhaṭā madrakārū yugandharāḥ
bhuliṅgāḥ śaradaṇḍāśca sālvaḥ yavasaṃjñitāḥ*

Udumbara, Tilakhaṭa, Madrakāra, Yugandhara, Bhuliṅga and Śaradaṇḍa, such are the divisions of Sālva. (*Candravṛtti* on *Candra*, II. 4. 103).

The verse connects the Madrakāras with the Udumbaras and mentions in the end the Bhuliṅgas and the Śaradaṇḍas. Elsewhere in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bengali ed. II. 70. 15), the messengers sent by Vasiṣṭha to recall Bharata from the land of Kekaya, crossed the river Sarasvatī, then the river Śaradaṇḍa and afterwards entered the city of Bhuliṅga⁸. The river Śaradaṇḍa is undoubtedly the Śatadru, the Zaratros of the Greeks⁹. The river and the city which the messengers first saw after entering the Punjab from the southeast, bear precisely the names of two Sālva tribes, Śaradaṇḍa and Bhuliṅga. Jivaka, proceeding from the northwest, arrives also in the Punjab and his itinerary mentions Bhadrakāra (cf. the ethnic Bhadrakāra) and Udumbara. Now the Madrakāras and the Udumbaras flourished among the tribes of Śālva. It seems then that Bhadrakāra and Madrakāra designate a single people among the neighbouring tribes.

It is tempting to consider the variation *bh/m* as a simple graphic confusion;¹⁰ but the form Madrakāra does not appear only in the *Candravṛtti*. The same verse is found in the *Kāśikāvṛtti* which reads Madrakāra; elsewhere the people known as Madraka or Madra are associated with the Kekayas of the Punjab in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 52. 1870 ;

8. Sylvain Lévi, who has studied this passage in *Pre-aryen et Pre-dravidien* (J.A., 1923, I, p. 17), admits that the form *bhuliṅga* of the Bengali recension may be preferred to *kuliṅga* which appears in the Bombay recension and in that of the South. I do not see any reason in preferring Bhuliṅga to Kuliṅga. The change *bhu/ku* also appears to me instructive like all those which appear in the Indian place-name. The alteration is so much worthy of attracting attention because these reappear in the recension of the *Mahābhārata* where *bhuliṅga* and *kuliṅga* both mean a species of bird (*Mbh.* II. 44. 1545 & cf. of Southern recen. II. 67. 28). It seems that *bhuliṅga/kuliṅga* was the eponymous bird of the Bhuliṅgas/Kuliṅgas.

9. For the enlargement of certain Sanskrit words by a termination *-ṇḍa*, Cf. *śikha* — *śikhaṇḍa*.

10. Cf. the following remark of Sylvain Lévi, "The Madras (Bhadra is evidently a defective variant) are celebrated in the epic traditions." (*Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyaṇa*, JA. 1918, I, p. 113).

VI. 61. 2691, etc.).¹¹ The *Mahābhārata* (II. 52. 1870) mentions the Bhadrās, but only in the Bombay recension; the Calcutta recension has Madra. Another point is to prove that the forms Bhadra and Madra had independent existence, as found in the legend of Bhadrā Kākṣīvatī, bride of Vyūṣitāśva (*Mbh.* I. 121. 4695 &c.). This queen had seven children, three Śālva and four Madra. If we accept that the Madras had as their ancestress a queen named Bhadrā, we should also admit that the two forms *bh/m* existed separately and their origin was known. Undoubtedly we consider the Madras as a section of the Bhadrās.

This opinion is strengthened by an account in the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins, which shows that the Buddha travelled in the land of Sieoumo (or Sou-mo, a variant in the Ming edition). In this country there are two cities, one called P'o-t'i, the other called Mi (*Che song liu*, XVI. 4. p. 67a). We shall see later, that P'o-t'i is no other than Bhadrāmkara. Mi, which is transcribed in Chinese into the name of the other city, is an ancient *mad*, which represents beyond any doubt the original Mad (ra). The two forms, Bhadra and Madra, should designate, according to the *Che song liu*, two distinct localities of the same country inhabited by two tribes of the same race.

It appears that Bhadra and Madra represent, not the graphic variations of the same name, but rather two differently pronounced dialects. These forms have been applied to the same people concurrently, to be assumed by the neighbouring tribes which called themselves the Madras and the Bhadrās.¹² Thus it is clear that the *Che song liu* distinguishes two place-names, Bhadra and Madra, while in the enumeration of tribes of the Śālvas, the Madrakāras alone are mentioned.

Whatever that may be, another point moreover is certain that the principal city of the Madras was Śākala (cf. *Mbh.* II. 32. 1196; in the *Jātaka*, ed. Fausboell, IV. p. 230, i. 20; V. p. 283, i. 26; etc., and in the *Dhammapadamthakathā*, II. p. 116, the capital of the Madda Kingdom is called Sāgala). This glorious city in ancient India, which Fleet has identified with modern Sialkot (*Actes du XIV Congrès des Orientalistes*, 1905, p. 164), was precisely on the route between Takṣaśilā and the country of the Udumbaras. This was the grand city of this region and Jīvaka could not miss it. His itinerary in this part does not mention the city of Bhadrāmkara. The books accordingly suggest that Bhadrāmkara is another name of Śākala. The Bhadrakāras were undoubtedly called thus, because this was the name of their capital. Just as Kāśī, also called Benares, designates also the inhabitants of the city.

The identification of Bhadrāmkara with Śākala permits us to understand better the beginning of the geographical list of the Yakṣas in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (ed. Sylvain Lévi in *JA*, 1915, verse 1-2):

11. *Jātaka* equally connects them. Cf. ed. Fausboell, VI, p. 280, 90. *maddā saha kekakehi*...

12. In Indo-China, for example, the ethnic *tai* is pronounced *tai* or *t'ai*, throughout the country by the tribe Tai themselves.

krakucchandaḥ pāṭaliputre sthūṇāyāṃ cāparājitaḥ
śailo bhadrāpura yakṣa uttarāyāṃ ca mānavaḥ

The commentary of Sylvain Lévi (*ibid.* p. 58) gives the following translation : 'Krukucchanda resides at Pāṭaliputra and Aparājita at Sthūṇā ; the Yakṣa Śaila at Bhadrāpura, and in the region of north, Mānava'.

After this stanza the list enumerates the celebrated cities sanctified by the legend of the Buddha : Rājagṛha, Kapilavāstu, Śrāvastī etc. We could expect the less famous cities almost in the beginning of the text. If Bhadrāpura is a secondary city, its occurrence is surprising. The mention of Sthūṇā in the second *pāda* is no less unexpected. This place-name designates a "village of brahmins" (Sylvain Lévi, *ibid.* p. 58). Admitting that Bhadrāpura is no other than Śākala,¹³ we perceive also that the capital is placed, in some way, as parallel with Pāṭaliputra. Apparently, the importance of both of them is due to two, *yakṣa* and *sthūṇāyāṃ*, in the first hemistich. Similarly *uttarāyāṃ*, in the second, does not probably help us to understand the position of the second type. The Sanskrit *sthūṇā*, as Pali *thūṇā*¹⁴ may mean the pillar of sacrifice. This is the place which is suitable for a *yakṣa*. Śākala, exposed to the foreign invasion from the northern side, might have in its northern outskirts a second temple of *yakṣa*, the protector.¹⁵ So I propose the following translation : Krukucchanda resides at Pāṭaliputra and also Aparājita, near the pillar of sacrifice ; the Yakṣa Śaila is in Bhadrāpura and also Mānava in the north (of the city). Thus, this first stanza clears the entire text. Even before the most holy cities, the metropole of Greek Kings, which is implicitly compared with the capital of Aśoka, is mentioned in the first place. This is an indication which will be considered when we determine the time and place of the composition of the *Mahāmāyūrī*.

Bhadra, Madra, are ethnical in official records, attested in the epic and religious literature. It might be asked why more popular names were not used along with the learned ones.

13. It might be objected perhaps that Śākala is mentioned further away in the same text (V. 25). But this does not make any difficulty. Pāṭaliputra is mentioned twice (V. 1. & 67) ; Śākala might equally reappear a second time. Elsewhere, in the verse 25 the reading Śākale is doubtful (variants, Śākale, Mālave, Śākate).

14. Cf. Rhys Davids and Stede, *Pali-English Dictionary* : *thūṇā*. Tibetan Translation *ka-ba* "pillar" suggests an original *sthūṇā*.

15. In *A-yu wāng ichouan* and *A-yu wang king*, when the Buddha prescribed to four Great Kings to look after his law, he told the first three only a few words ; but, when he addressed Kubera, he insisted upon the necessity of preserving his law in the north because it would be threatened from that direction by the cruel kings. (*Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, p. 313. n. 4). The population of the northwest always felt dangers from the northern direction. This fear may not be irrelevant to the development in this region of the cult of Kubera, the king of the Yakṣas, placed in the north.

One of the tales of the life of the Buddha gives perhaps an indication of some value on this point. The episode of the merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika is told in the Tibetan *Dul-va* where the name of Bhallika is translated as *Bzan-po*, "Good", which suggests the Sanskrit Bhadrīka. In fact the *dr* of Sanskrit corresponds with *ll* of Prakrit (Pischel, *Grammatik* . . . Sec. 294). We find even in Sanskrit some words in which *ll* from *dr* : *kṣulla*, another form of *kṣudra*, appears in the *Atharvaveda*, and *bhalla* from *bhadra* has been introduced in the Classical Sanskrit (J. Bloch, *Formation de la langue marathe*, Sec. 141). *Bhalla* is more distinguished as the term "villager" by Vāmana (cf. Regnaud, *Rhêt. Sansk.*, p. 141, and J. Bloch *ibid.*, index, cf. *bhatā*). The adjective *bhadra* began to be considered as the aristocratic equivalent of the popular form *bhalla*. The ethnic *Bhalla* is no more unknown. It has been specially mentioned in the *Gaṇapāṭha* (on Pāṇini, iv. 2. 75), before *Malla* and *Māla*. *Malla*, it is true, does not occur in the *Kāśikā*. It cannot be said that it was from the beginning a part of the *Gaṇapāṭha*. In any case, *Bhalla* is to *Bhadra* as *Malla* is to *Madra*, and since we shall find connection, though confused, between *Bhadra* and *Madra*, it is not surprising to find *Bhalla* and *Malla* (or *Māla*) side by side.

The *Mallas* (or *Māla*) of the northwest are undoubtedly the *Malloi* of the Greek writers. Arrian mentioned them among the confederates who resisted Alexander in the *Sangala* region. On the other hand, the testimony of coins compels us to place the *Mālavas* in some part of the northern Punjab.¹⁶ In the same region, Pāṇini (V. 3. 114) equally knew the *Mālavas* as a group (*saṃgha*), living by the profession of arms and forming a part of the *Vāhikas*. The *Paramatthajotikā* knew another king called *Maddavo* in *Sāgala* in the kingdom of *Madda*.¹⁷ *Malla*, *Māla* and *Mālava* of Sanskrit, *Madda* and *Maddava* in Pali, form an onomastic series, all of which are localised in the Punjab.

16. I can do no better than to reproduce here the remarkable conclusion of E.J. Rapson, in his article 'The Kulatas, a people of Northern India', J. R. A. S. 1900, p. 259 &c : 'The exact determination of the territory of the *Mālavas* is a well-known puzzle in Indian topography. The evidence of coins, associating them with the *Yaudheyas* and *Arjunāyanas*, tends to place them somewhere in the north of the Punjab. They are placed by *Varāhamihira* in the northern division, and in every case but one in which they are mentioned in the *Brhatsaṃhitā* they are associated with the northern peoples. Mr. Fleet solves this difficulty boldly saying "*Varāhamihira* places them too much to the north ; as they are undoubtedly the people of *Mālwa*, from whom (see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, p. 404) the *Vikrama* era derived its original appellation". But it is not just possible that there may really have been two peoples—the *Mālava* of the north represented by the *Malloi* of the Greek writers, by the coins having the inscription *Mālavānām jaya (h)*, by the *Malaya* of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, and by the *Mo-lo-so* (*Mo-lo-po*) of *Hiouen Tshang* ; and the better known *Mālava* of the south called *Mo-lo-po* by *Hiouen Tshang* ?

17. *Paramatthajotikā*, ed. Helmer Smith, II, p. 694, *Maddaratthe Sāgalanagaram agamaṃsu*. *Sāgalanagare Maddavo nāma rājā*. To note, moreover, in the *Mahābhārata*, *Mālava* is the name of a king of the *Mālavas*, and *Mālavi* is the name of

The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, which distributes the people of India, in the vast east, probably without taking much trouble about their actual location, places the Madras in the northwest. (Parāśara omits them but calls them Mallas instead). The Madrakas (Parāśara calls them Madra) are placed in the north, and the Bhallas are located in the northeast. The Bhallas came immediately after the Kaṇḍinas who are in fact a people of the Punjab. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* gives a list analogous to that of the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, but substitutes Pahlavas for Bhallas (cf. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 87-90).

As opposed to the Malla, Māla, Mālava series, where *āl* is the equivalent of *all*, one is tempted to read in Bhalla a parallel of Bhallava. This raises a question: Is not Bhallava the link which binds Bhalla and Pahlava, both quoted in the same place—one in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and the other in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*?

T. Graham Bailey informs us (*Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas*, 1920, p. 115) that in the Himalayan region near the Punjab, the aspirate is sometimes put beyond the vowel. We find in Chamba *bhāi*, *ghār*, *ghoṛa*, and in Simla *bāhī*, *gauhr*, *gohṛo*. In northern Punjabi the initial sonant aspirate loses its breath, as in Simla; but this phenomenon is accompanied by the muffling of the sonant *bh* to *p*.

An analogous process could have produced the form Bāhlīka. The old sonant aspirate could have been equally divided and the breath could be put after the vowel, unless however, that was muffled. It could be assumed that Bāhlīka is another derivative of Bhalla. Fortunately, Bhallika is preserved in Sanskrit and Pali as the name of a celebrated caravan leader.

In fact in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the *Purāṇas*, Bāhlīka signifies not only the name of the country of Balkh, but also a people of the Punjab, the name of which is often changed into Bāhika (cf. Pargiter, 57. 35, and Sylvain Lévi, *Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 113). Bāhlikī in the *Mahābhārata* (I. 125. 4886) is another name of Mādrī, queen of the Madras.

We find that the great epic, so rich in proper names, often marks the relationship which unites the forms with one another. Mālavi is the bride of the king of the Madras. Bhadrā is the mother of the Madras, Bāhlikī is another name of Mādrī, queen of the Madras.

If we group the comparable forms which furnish the onomastic words of the northwest, we obtain the following table concerning the most characteristic names:

Bhadra	Madra	Bhadrika	
Bhalla	Malla	Bhallika	Mālava
Bāhli		Bāhlīka	
		Bāhika	

the wife of Aśvapati, king of the Madras (*Mbh.*, VII. 17. 691 & III. 293. 16637).

This is not the place to discuss the origin of these names, nor of tracing the conclusion that follows¹⁸. We can at least see that the same ethnic Bāhlika was scattered in the Punjab and in the north of Afghanistan. This case can be explained in diverse ways. That this is casual is difficult to admit. It is more probable that the Bāhlikas of the Punjab and Bactria were really related. The northwestern frontier of India, so often violated in historical times, must have been crossed also in those periods. This can explain the presence of the Bāhlikas on both the sides. Besides, the *Mahābhārata* furnishes an interesting indication in favour of this thesis, Bhadrā, the legendary grandmother of the Madras and the Sālvas, had been the wife of the king Vyusitāśva. This last name recalls the Iranian compositions in *aspa* and particularly Vistāspa, name of the father of Darius and also of the famous king who, as tradition goes, ruled in the eastern Iran, and who was the protector of Zoroaster.

If Bhadra Madra etc., designate a people connected with the Bāctrians, we comprehend that these strangers had been despised by the defenders of the Brahminical orthodoxy (cf. *Mahābhārata*, VIII. 40. 1835, and Sylvain Lévi, *BEFEO*, 1904, p. 54). This aversion must have contributed in changing Bāhlika to Bāhika by a play of words that gave way to this proper name. Bāhika signifies, "one from abroad, foreigner". The Bactrians were, perhaps, so much hated because they seem to have disfigured the Aryan gods and modified the most venerable traditions. They were also dangerous neighbours. Pāṇini (V. 3. 114) alludes to the belligerent habits of the Bāhikas, and historians have noted the resistance of the Mallas when Alexander contemplated to seize Śākala.

It seems that long before the invasions of the Indo-Scythians and the Śākas, even before the expedition of Alexander, some Bactrians, descending from Afghanistan, had already penetrated into India and conquered at least the Punjab.¹⁹

18. I shall readily accept that Persian *bāxtrī*, Avestan *bāxdī*, Sanskrit *bhadra* reproduce imperfectly the same ethnic word whose original form is yet to be determined and whose Indo-European character is only less certain.

19. If certain tribes—apparently Iranised but never to be affirmed that they were Indo-Europeans—advanced before Alexander to the south of the Hindu Kush, it explains better the diffusion of many ethnic and geographical names and certain phonetic anomalies which appear sporadically in the north of India and in Iran. Śākala which appears to be derived from Śāka (Scythians), is an ancient name of the capital of the Punjab. The interchange Bhadra/Madra is not without equivalents in the Iranian onomastic. Let us remember only (S)merdis (=Bardiya). The Kashmiris, who have given their name to Kashmir, are already mentioned in the *R̥gveda*. Ptolemy places to the east of the Bidaspes the country of the Kaspiraii, Kaspiria, where are notably the cities of Baṭanagara and of Kaspeira. On the other hand, the Caspian was called Kasperia, and M. Autran has already brought this last name close to that of Caspīri, "which the Sabines gave first to the Persians" (*Babyloniaca*, VIII, p. 145). It seems then that the same name (with variation *p/m*) marks out the route which leads from Scythia to the Punjab.

Because the Śālva claimed Vyūṣitāśva and Bhadrā as ancestors, can it be concluded that the people of this confederacy,—Udumbara, Tilakhala, etc.—were all of the Iranian race? This will be going too far. It is probable that the Bactrians had formed these tribes, but it does not seem that the masses thus formed were Iranians or Indo-Aryans. We shall see later that they had, on the contrary, close affinities with the Kol populations (or Mundā), who even to this day subsist in Chota Nagpur region.

In the section on Remedies in the *Vinaya*, the last *bhāṇavāra* or “the portion of tales” is composed of a series of episodes introducing the narrative of a voyage of the Buddha. The Blessed One goes first from Vesālī to Bhaddiyanagara (VI. 34. 10), then he goes to Sāvattthī while passing by Aṅguttarāpa, Āpaṇa, Kusinārā and Ātumā.²⁰ The same travel is related in the Tibetan version of the *Vinaya* of the Mūla Sarvāstivādins (*Dul-va*, III. 42a), but it is not given in the Chinese version of the same *Vinaya* by Yi-Tsing. The original Sanskrit of the first episode, that of Meṇḍhaka, constituted the chapters IX to X of *Dīvyāvadāna*. Finally the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins contained a comparable account (*Che song liu*, XVI. 4, p. 67a &c.).

The city where the Buddha first came is called Bhaddiya-nagara in Pali; in Sanskrit Bhadrāṃkara, and in the *Che song liu*, P'o-t'i. This Chinese transcription is closer to Bhaddiya of Pali than to Bhadrāṃkara of Sanskrit. But the question certainly is how much the same city indicates its place in the itinerary and in the analogy of the three names. M. Sylvain Lévi admits that it was situated in “the east of Pāṭaliputra, towards the Gangetic Delta” (*Catalogue géographique des Yakṣa*, JA. 1951, p. 60). This location is impossible for several reasons.²¹ We have seen before that Jīvaka, while returning from Takṣaśilā to the land of the Udumbaras, passed the summer at Bhadrāṃkara, a city in the Upper Punjab. In the episode of Meṇḍhaka it is once again mentioned as the city of the northwest. The Buddha, while leaving Bhadrāṃkara to return to Śrāvastī, crossed a country where he received an offering of grapes (*Che song liu*, XVI. 4, p. 68a, col. 19; cf. *Dul-va*, III, 59b). The vine does not grow in eastern India. The caravanier Meṇḍhaka, who lived at Bhaddiya, possessed valuable sheep,²² animals undoubtedly fabulous. But this must have been a place where wool was produced

20. For a similar travel cf. *Mahāvagga*, V. Sec. 8 & 9. The Buddha returns from Benares to Bhaddiya and from there to Sāvattthī.

21. This remark is applicable only to the city about which there is an issue in the *Avadāna* of Meṇḍhaka and of Jīvaka. It is clear that I do not pretend to affirm that it did not exist beside other cities bearing the same, or almost the same name. In the list of Yakṣas of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, the first stanza mentions the city of Bhadrapura, which is no other than Bhadrāṃkara and further, (verse 66) it is a reference of a city called Bhadrīkā. Sylvain Lévi accepts that Bhadrīkā is probably identical with Bhadrapura (*ibid.*, p. 99), but this seems to me impossible. Bhadrapura is a city of the northwest while Bhadrīkā is near Pāṭaliputra.

22. Cf. *Dhammapadattṭhakathā*, III, p. 363, and IV, p. 217.

and it was close to the Himalayas. This could not be in the Gangetic Delta.

Here we are not going to study the travels of the Buddha. It will be sufficient to suggest, according to different texts, that the halting places were near Bhadrāṃkara. In the *Dul-va*, the first region named after this city is the land of U-du-ma. Now, in the *Avadāna* of Jivaka, this physician, after leaving Bhadrāṃkara, entered the land of the Udumbaras. We can admit that U-du-ma is an imperfect or distorted form of Udumbara.²³

In the commentary of the *Dhammapada* (III, p. 363), the Buddha, before arriving at Bhaddiya, crossed the country of the Aṅguttaras. In the *Mahāvagga* he passed Aṅguttarāpa after leaving Bhaddiya in order to return to the east. Aṅguttarāpa and Aṅguttara are probably copied from the same place-name distorted by the Buddhist authors.²⁴

The *Vinaya*, in an account of the Second Council, relates the principal halting places of the travel of Revata (*Cullavagga*, XII. 9). The Blessed One, on leaving Kaṇṇakujja comes to Udumbara, and to Aggalapura,²⁵ then to Sahajāti. We know that the Buddha, having left Bhaddiyanagara went towards the east through Aṅguttarāpa. Jivaka, travelling in the same direction, passed through Bhadrāṃkara and travelled through the land of the Udumbaras. Revata finally reached Aggalapura, after Udumbara. If Aṅguttarāpa is the distortion of an ancient place-name, can Aggalapura be also a derivative of the same original? From *rāpa* to *pura*, or inversely, the transition is easy in a place where popular whim ruled. Aṅgutta and Aggala are interrelated; and the *u* which is absent in *aggala* is found appositely in *pura*.

Aṅguttarāpa and Aggalapura are both found in the *Vinaya*. Another itinerary which has been studied by Sylvain Lévi contains perhaps the Chinese rendering of the Sanskrit name of the same city. Tche Mang, while travelling from Sākala to Rohitaka, that is to say from Sialkot to Rohtak, passed through Pin-k'i-p'o-lo, P'o-tch'a na-kie and A-Kia-lou-t'o=Agroda. (The *Fan-fan-yu* explains this name as *ti yi fan*, 'pulp of the first quality'=Agrodana; the interpretation is whimsical). On the route from Sialkot to Rohtak, to the west northwest of Rohtak, is found, Agroha "ancient city," says the *Gazetteer* of Hunter, "13 miles northwest of Hissar; this is the original place of Agarwala Baniyas; the place formerly had been of great importance.

23. The recital of *Che song liu* is aberrant. It mentions however the gift of grapes (p. 68a, Col. 19).

24. In another tale of the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā* (I, p. 385), the city of Bhaddiya is located in the country of Aṅga. Since there existed not far from Pāṭaliputra a city called Bhadrīkā (cf., *Supra*, n. 21), we can easily understand that the commentators of the *Dhammapada* could mix up this city with its homonym of the northwest. A similar confusion, due to the resemblance of names, explains, to my satisfaction, that in the *Paramatthajotikā*, Aṅguttarāpa might be located in the country of the Aṅgas.

25. Udumbara and Aggalapura do not appear in the travels of Revata in the corresponding account of the *Vinaya* of the Mūla Sarvāstivādins.

Since the attack of Shahab-ud-din Ghorī in 1194, Agarwala Baniyas were scattered all over the peninsula. The clan includes some of the wealthiest men of India". We can therefore confirm that Agrotaka²⁶ (or Agrodaka) is actually the town of Agroha'. (*Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa*, JA. T.I. 1915, p. 65-66). Agroda (or Agrodaka), which appears before Rohitaka in the itinerary of Tche Mang, that is to say on the great route of the northwest, may be the Sanskrit name of the city which is called in Pali Aggalapura or Aṅguttarāpa. Aṅgutta, Aggala and Agroda could then be derived from the same place-name modified by the popular etymology in order to obtain a sense in Pali or in Sanskrit: *aṅguttara*, *aggala+pura*, *agra+udaka*.

This hypothesis finds confirmation in one of the other travels previously analysed. In the Tibetan version of the *Vinaya* of the Mūla Sarvāstivādins, the Buddha left Bhadrāmkara, lived in the country of U-du-ma (Udumbara), then at 'bab chu rab-tu bzañ-mo'i 'gram-du, i.e., 'On the bank of the River Excellent' (*Dul-va*, III. 62b). The original Sanskrit had probably *agrodake*, 'at Agrodaka'. The Tibetan translators believed that he had negotiated a course of water, and they translated *udaka* as 'bab chu, 'running water, river' and *agra* as *rab-tu bzañ-mo*, 'excellent'. Finally the mark of locative was interpreted 'gram-du, 'on the bank of'.

Before arriving at Agroda(ka), Tche Mang coming from Śākala passed through P'o-teh'a na-kie. This transcription presupposes an original, such as Baṭanagara or Baṭhanagara. Cunningham mentioned that in 1594, in the ancient land of the Udumbaras, Vasu Deva Zaminkār (Rājā) of Man and Pathan rose in rebellion against Akbar (Cunningham, *Early coins*, p. 67). The local *rājā* took his title from the name of the district of Pathan. The same name appears to-day as Pathankot, a place where numerous coins of the Udumbaras have been found. Cunningham proposed to identify Pathān or Pathāna with Batanagara of Ptolemy (*ibid.*, p. 67). P'o-teh'a na-kie, of the itinerary of Tche Mang, appears to be copied from the same original which Ptolemy reproduced. The country of the Udumbaras was precisely situated between Śākala and Agrodaka.

In short, excepting Revata, who made a circular journey, the travellers whom we have followed, all took the same route, and, inspite of the omissions or errors of the texts,

Avad. of		Bhadrāmkara	Udumbara		Rohitaka
Jivaka					
Avad. of	<i>Dul-va</i>	Bhadrāmkara	Uduma	'bab chu rab-tu bzañ-mo (Agrodaka ?)	
Meṇḍhaka	<i>Vinaya</i>	Bhaddiya		Aṅguttarāpa	
Itinerary of Tche Mang		Śākala	P'o-teh'a na-kie (Baṭhanagara ?)	Agroda (ka)	Rohitaka
Travel of Revata			Udumbara	Aggalapura	

26. Agrodaka is the reading of the *Mahāmāyūri*.

these are always, mainly, the same names which reappear. The above table gives a better rendering of the account.

The *Avadāna* of Meṇḍhaka relates the introduction of Buddhism in Bhadrakara : the Buddha goes to the city inhabited by heretics and favoured by the support of the wealthy merchant Meṇḍhaka ;²⁷ he succeeded in establishing the Good Faith there. This narrative seeks to exalt the events that happened in the Buddha's time, but these authors were evidently inspired by more recent traditions.

I have indicated in a previous work how the merchants have contributed in the diffusion of Buddhism along the great commercial routes of India, notably on the route which, through Mathurā, joins the lower valley of the Ganges with Kashmir. (*La Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, p. 10 &c). The *Avadāna* of Meṇḍhaka illustrates this expansion in a singularly lively manner. Besides the twelfth chapter of the *Cullavagga* proves that before the editing of the *Vinaya*, that is to say probably before the beginning of our era, the capital of the Udumbaras and the city of Aggalapura were recognised as the citadels of Buddhism in the northwestern regions.

The evidence of the coins and those of the Buddhist texts relating to the Udumbaras are then in agreement. They reveal to us the existence and the geographical position of a people who attained a sufficiently high degree of culture and material prosperity before the beginning of the Christian era. It gives two essential facts : the Udumbaras are established on the great route of commerce which through Śākala, Agrodaka and Rohitaka lead from Takṣaśilā in the Gangetic valley. Moreover, converted to Buddhism, they were among the champions of the church in the eastern region.

In which period did these people figure in history ? It is impossible to be precise. The *Gaṇapāṭha* on Pāṇini (IV. 2. 53) placed the Udumbaras near Jālandharāyaṇa. But this does not inform us whether the Udumbaras formed an independent state when the *Gaṇapāṭha* was composed. It is not futile to consult on this point the historiographers of Alexander. After having narrated the defeat of Porus, Arrian (Book V, Ch. V) relates how Alexander came to the Hydraotes (Irāvatī) and detached a part of his army to subjugate the people who inhabited the borders of this river, and to annex them to the states of Porus. He learned that a great number of independent peoples awaited him under the wall of Sangala (Śākala) and marched against them. In this chapter, he relates that at the time of Alexander's invasion, Porus and Abisares could not succeed in establishing their hegemony over the people of the Upper Indus, and that the Punjab was divided into several small states. Among these independent populations, no doubt, were the Udumbaras, who are not mentioned by Arrian, but are referred to by the *Gaṇapāṭha*.

27. Meṇḍhaka, with which corresponds Meṇḍaka in Pali, means 'ram'. Aja, which means 'he-goat', is the name of a king of the Udumbaras ; Aja-mitra (cf. Cunningham, *Coins of ancient India*, p. 69). Further, Śālva, king of the Śālvas, is an incarnation of the Asura Ajaka (cf., *Mbh.*, I. 67. 2653).

How the material prosperity of these people testified to by the abundance of coins which bore their name, is to be explained? We must evidently take into account their advantageous situation on the great route from Magadha to Kashmir. Besides, the Udumbaras, being established on the openings of several Himalayan valleys, were natural intermediaries between the mountain and the plains. Today, again, Pathankot, head of the railroad from Amritsar, is the junction of the commercial routes from Chamba, Nūrpur and Kāñgrā (Hunter, *Gazetteer of India*. cf. Pathankot).

The local industries, no doubt, constituted another source of wealth. We know that the Himalayan plateau rears sheep whose fine fleece (*pashmina*) serves to manufacture precious clothes. In all ages these woollen goods have been one of the principal objects of exchange between the inhabitants of the mountain valleys and those of the plains (*La Parinirvāṇa et les funérailles du Buddha*, JA. 1920, p. 120-21). The persistency of cottage industries in this region, which survived the political destructions, permit us to infer from the present state, what it was formerly. The *Gazetteer* of Hunter points out a prosperous industry of woollen goods and of shawls in the city of Pathankot, that is to say, in one of the principal sites of the ancient country of the Udumbaras. This shows from which side must we pursue our investigations. What the *Avadānas* have omitted to say concerning the economic activity of the Udumbaras, the books relating to the trade of precious cloths will tell us.

II. THE CLOTH OF KODUMBARA

Among all the cities of the Punjab, Śākala or Sāgala had a peculiarly brilliant destiny. Built at the time of Alexander, it was then the centre of resistance in the Upper Punjab, but it could not resist subjugation. About 180 years before our era, the Greek King Demetrios conquered the country and established his capital at Śākala, which he named Euthydemia in memory of his father, Euthydemos.²⁸ After a period of trouble, Menander reestablished, about 155 B.C., the empire of Demetrios and probably fixed its capital at Śākala. In the *Milinda Pañha*, which put before this Greek King and the patriarch Nāgasena, the description of Sāgala is instructive. The author insists on the wealth of this city, among other precious merchandise which was in abundance there, the cloths of Kāśī and Koṭumbara, *kāsika-koṭumbara-kādi-nānāvidha-vatthūpaṇa-sampanṇam* (ed. Trenckner, p. 2). These cloths are equally mentioned in the *Vessantara Jātaka*, *kāsikāṇi ca dharetvā khomakodumbarāṇi ca*, "Having brought the clothes from Kāśī, flax from Kodumbara" (Fausboell, *Jāt.* VI. n. 547, verse 117). The same word reappears among the names of cloths in the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*, *kappāsakoseyyaṇi khomakoṭumbarāṇi ca*, "the clothes of cotton, of silk, of flax from Koṭumbara" (Fausboell, VI. p. 47, verse 166). The commentator comments thus on the last passage: *koṭumbarāṇi*

28. *Cambridge History of India*, p. 445-446 and 519. Rapson considers the correction of *Euthumedia* (Ptolemy, I. 46) to *Euthudemia* as conjectural. Cf. however, the reading *Euthudemeia* (Nonn. XXVI. 338) quoted by L. Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolémée*, p. 80.

koṭumbara-raṭṭhe uṭṭhita-vatthūṇi, 'The Koṭumbaras are cloths produced in the kingdom of Koṭumbara.'²⁹

We see that the form of the word was badly shown in Pali. The writers hesitated between Koṭumbara and Kodumbara.³⁰ On the other hand, the corresponding Sanskrit word was defective in our European dictionaries, but it is easy to recognise it in the Chinese and Tibetan transcriptions.

The *Vinaya* of the Mūla Sarvāstivādins in several recitals enumerates the clothes which the monks were authorised to wear. The sixth article of this list is, in Tibetan, *ko-tam-pa*, which corresponds to the Chinese *kao-tchan-po-kia* (cf. *Dul-wa*, I. p. 84a, and Yi-Tsing, XVI. 8. p. 87a, col. 7). After this transcription Yi-Tsing adds the following comment: 'woollen cloth of superior quality'. The Japanese dictionary *Eko*, p. 216, reproduces the list of clothes from the *Vinaya* of the Mūla Sarvāstivādins and for an explanation of *kao-tchan-po-kia* refers back to the *Mahāvīyutpatti*, p. 280, 5, which gives the original *koṭambaka*.

We must not hasten to infer that it is a defect of our texts, since this Sanskrit word does not appear in our dictionaries. It may be that our editors had no knowledge of it. The more careful perusal of the manuscripts has helped us to find it out. In his edition of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (p. 89. 82), Kern renders *koccairbakahaṃsalakṣaṇaiḥ* as 'choice carpets showing the images of cranes and swans' (tr., p. 88). It is true, in his edition, Kern acknowledges our reading as conjectural, cf. *kocca* (*Dīvyāṇv.*, index 678), Pali *koccha*, Skr. *kūrca*. To justify his reading, Kern borrows from *Dīvyāṇv.*, a word *kocca* whose existence is doubtful. It has been clearly given in the index of this work: *koccaka*, perhaps = Pali *koccham*, couch (or pillow according to Dickson); but if we go back to the text of *Dīvyāṇv.* it is proved that the manuscripts have *kocava* more frequently, which the editors have substituted by *koccaka* on their own authority. Now *kocava* could answer for the Pali *kojava*, 'coverlet or carpet of fine wool'. The *kocca* of Kern is then doubly conjectural. In fact the manuscripts of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* give: *koṭyaḥ*, *koṭṭa*, *koḍam*, *koṭā*, *koṭ*, *koṭṭā'n*, where a cerebral *ḍ* or *ṭ*, simple or double, constantly appears. I then propose to read *koṭambakair haṃsa-lakṣaṇaiḥ*, 'Fine clothes of Koṭambaka adorned with the images of flamingoes'.

We can see from the preceding writing that, in ancient India, certain woollen cloths of superior quality were called in Pali *Koṭumbara*, *Kodumbara*, and in Sanskrit

29. The commentary on *Vessantara Jātaka*, verse 117, explains the same, *khomakodumbaraṇṭi kodumbaraṭṭhe upapṇṇāṇi*.

30. On reading the edition of Fausboell, we can ask whether *koṭumbara* was not a Ceylonese reading while *kodumbara* might have conformed to the Burmese tradition. Dines Andersen, to whom I express my hearty thanks, has consented to consult on this point the *Rask* manuscript of Copenhagen, the best representative of the Ceylonese tradition extant in Europe. In the corresponding passage of the *Jātaka*, VI. p. 500-501, this manuscript has *kodambara* in the text, but *kodumbara* twice in the commentary. So the Ceylonese tradition equally knew *d* as well as *ṭ*.

Koṭumbaka. The Pali commentary explains the first of these forms as having been derived from the name of the country Koṭumbara.

Where was the kingdom situated? The *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā*, of which there are two Chinese translations, mentions the Kuṭumba among the tributaries of the Oxus. M. Sylvain Lévi, after having quoted this text (*Pour l'histoire du Rāmāyaṇa*, JA. 1918, I, p. 151), adds, 'The Kuṭumba or Kuḍumba, the last of the "subordinates" of the Oxus, reminds in an impressive manner the country of Kieou-lieou-mo Kuḍuma which the Chinese version of *Sp.* ranked at the end of the list of peoples of the North. The Tibetan version writes *Kuṭuka* and the Sanskrit manuscripts of "A" recension read *Kaḍvala*, *Vaṭvaka*, *Kaṭuna* . . .'. Are we correct in comparing the name of the river Kuṭumba with that of the country Kuḍuma and with that of the cloth Koṭumbara, and in concluding that these materials were produced in the region of the Oxus? This appears rather doubtful. Nothing can prove that the country Kuḍuma was situated in this region, or that it ever produced woollen goods. The word *Kuḍuma*, on the other hand, is a doubtful restitution confirmed neither by Tibetan *Kuṭuka* nor in the readings of Sanskrit manuscripts. As regards the passage quoted from the *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā*, it is difficult to attribute much geographical value to it. For each of the four rivers that emerge from the mythical lake Anavatapta, this treatise of metaphysics enumerates four tributaries. The tributaries of the Oxus might have acquired fantastic names. We know that due to the lack of a precise idea on geography of unknown countries, the Buddhist writers have frequently introduced into the Indian nomenclature from other lands, names that they impose on the place. It is thus that the name of the city of Rauruka is copied from a second legendary city, bearing the same name and situated somewhere in Central Asia. Desiring to connect the names of the four tributaries of the Oxus, with those of the four tributaries of the Indus, the authors of the *Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā*, introduced into the Punjab the name of a country that produced woollen goods, and this could have caused to create an imaginary river. Another eventuality could be envisaged. Kotab is the modern name, of a tributary of the Oxus which rather resembles an Iranian one. Does the name of this river, where it is tempting to isolate the final *ab*, come from Koṭumba? Whatever these conjectures might be, all that we know of the trade of these cloths in ancient India³¹ invites a search in the sub-Himalayan Zone, the country producing precious woollen goods mentioned in the Buddhist literature under the names of Koṭumbara, Kodumbara.³²

Since then a certain evidence has been available. The difference between Kodumbara and Odumbara is not very great. If, as the commentary of the *Jātaka* suggests, the cloths of Kodumbara bore the name of the producing country, should not this recall to us the country of Odumbara, situated in the sub-Himalayan Zone and, which produces, even to-day, famous shawls? We shall see later on, that the absence of the initial

31. Cf. *Le Parinirvāṇa et les Funérailles de Buddha*, p. 120-121.

32. In *Milinda Pañha*, p. 331, Koṭumbara is mentioned between Pāṭheyya and Madhurā.

K is not an impediment. But before equating Kodumbara and Odumbara, it is necessary to discuss a prejudicial question.

III. KODUMBARA, ODUMBARA

In a series of articles published in *les Mémoires* and *les Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, the first of which appeared in 1920, I have tried to show that the Indo-Aryan vocabulary must belong to the Austro-Asiatic languages.³³ In preparing the table I have pointed out a certain number of words in these languages, the initials of which are muted or have completely disappeared. Thus we have the following forms for 'son', 'child': *kon khon hân*.³⁴ In *hân* the guttural initial is reduced to a suffle.

On the other hand, in Khmer, *ambas* 'cotton' provides an old *kambas*, the guttural initial of which has completely disappeared (*Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, 1924, p. 70). The comparison of names of man and woman in the Muṇḍā languages reveal an analogous phenomenon:

Man	Koro	Har	Hoeroel	Harā	Hor
Woman		Kūṛi		Koṛi	Erā

Here we have for the same root diverse stages of the initial *K, H, O*. It would be easy to show that the same phenomenon has place for other initials in the same family of languages. Thus for 'salt' we find *tampoing, empoya, ambang*.³⁵

For 'back, loins' the Camba has two forms: *baraui* and *arauñ*. In Santhālī the *Hibiscus subdariffa* is called *bambara* or *ambaro*.

To *brang* 'black' of the Bahnar (from *berang*) corresponds to *heram* in the languages of the Malayan peninsula and *hireng* in Kawi and *ireng* in Javanese.

33. In speaking here of "Austro-Asiatic" languages, I have applied to this word a sense of unusual elasticity, because I have utilised it to mean a linguistic family which alone has overflowed the frontiers of Austric Asia. It is difficult to find a geographic term general enough to hold together the spoken languages, not only in East Asia, but also in a large part of Oceania, in Africa (Madagascar), and undoubtedly in ancient times, to the north of the Pacific. "Austro-Asiatic" is formulated by the hypothesis that Austro-Asia is a region from where the people speaking these languages appear to have swarmed. Such was already the opinion of H. Kern who accepted the continental origin of these Malayo-Polynesian peoples. This hypothesis has not yet been discarded by any fact; P.W. Schmidt, who was first to speak of the "Austro-Asiatic languages" limits this term to the "Austro-Asiatic" languages, a subdivision of the "Austric" languages. The latter term has a limitation for confining in the hemisphere of Australia, the languages which are again largely distributed in the north of the Equator. Perhaps the "Austric" may mean the languages spoken in Oceania before its arrival from the Malayo-Polynesians.

34. *Mémoires de la Société Linguistique*, 1921, p. 209. The form *hân* is common in many languages, Muṇḍā Muṇḍāri, Santhālī, etc.

35. Cf. Skeat & Blagden, *Pagan races of the Malay peninsula*, II, p. 702.

It would be easy to multiply the examples. The principle once known, the difficulties begin when one wishes to draw conclusions.

Kuśinārā is the Sanskrit name of a small town that became famous due to the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha ; the *Mahābhārata* (VIII. 5. 137 ; XII. 101. 3736) knew the peoples from Uśinara. These names form a pair whose elements are a little interchangeable, the most noticeable difference being due to a loss of the initial in the second, a frequent phenomenon in the Austro-Asiatic languages. Can we infer that this pair of words is borrowed from this family of languages ? It would be imprudent to be sure. The aphesis is observed not in a single linguistic family alone. This is a phonetic feature apt to appear in diverse languages. The Sumerian offers some examples (Autran, *Langues du Monde*, p. 278), and certain Sanskrit words seem to have been borrowed from these languages.

To suppose even that the Sumerian might have been introduced without any cause, into the ancient languages in contact with the Indo-Aryan, and that those that belonged to the Austro-Asiatic family were alone to present the phenomenon of aphesis, it would again be imprudent to affirm that the words which have lost their initials in Sanskrit were necessarily of Austro-Asiatic origin. The initial *K* to *H* becoming mute, seems to be due to the fact that, in the dialects where they appear, the pronunciation of the occlusive carried a strong suffle. The same pronunciation was capable of maintaining and producing the same effects after the Aryan population had learnt to speak the Indo-Aryan languages, and since then, certain words of Indo-European origin lost their initial.

In short the decline of the initial of certain words of Indian languages does not prove the Austro-Asiatic origin of these words. I cannot accept without reserve the following formula in which Sylvain Lévi summed up recently the results of research on certain Indian geographical names : "Pulinda-Kulinda, Mekala-Utkala (with the Udra-Puṇḍra-Muṇḍa group), Kosala-Tosala, Aṅga-Vaṅga, Kaliṅga-Tiliṅga forming the link of a long chain that stretches from the eastern border of Kashmir to the heart of the peninsula. The framework of this ethnic system is established in the heights of the central plateau ; it appears all along the great rivers of India except the Indus to the west, and the Kāveri to the south. Each of these groups make a binary ensemble. Each of these binary ensembles is united to another member of the system. In each ethnic pair the couple carry the same name, the difference being only in the initial : *K* and *T* ; *K* and *P* ; *O* and *V* or *M* or *P*. This procedure of formation is alien to Indo-European ; it is foreign to the Dravidian as well. It is on the contrary the characteristic of that vast family of languages called the Austro-Asiatic which unites in India the group of Muṇḍā languages, also called the Kolarians. (*Pré-Aryen et pré-Dravidien* . . . JA. 1923, p. 30).

The difference between Aṅga and Vaṅga or between Udra and Puṇḍra is by no means comparable to those that exist between Pulinda and Kulinda, Kosala and Tosala. There can be no doubt, in all these cases, about a similar 'procedure of formation.' In the group Aṅga and Vaṅga, it seems to me, the same word has either preserved or lost its initial, and the aphesis, a purely phonetic phenomenon, tells us nothing with certainty on the origin of Vṅga or Aṅga. Udra and Puṇḍra belong

to the same group, so much so, that these words could be legitimately brought together. Contrary to the groups, Pulinda-Kulinda, Kosala-Tosala differ by the permutation of two prefixes, *pu* and *ku*, *ko* and *to*; and this phenomenon of morphological order is of a nature to prove the Austro-Asiatic origin of these words where we find them.

We see now that this discussion of principle was necessary, before examining the significance of the Kodumbara-Odumbara group. We know that the presence or absence of the initial *K* does not prove that it is a question of Austro-Asiatic names. Before going further let us proceed to examine a second problem, which rightly attaches to the first.

A priori nothing can prevent us from saying: *Kulinda* = *K* + *ulinda*; if I write it in this fashion, it becomes a word of one of the Astro-Asiatic languages, derived in the same way as *Ku-linda*. *Ka* is a frequent prefix in these languages, and the vowel *u* normally replaces *a*. This shows us the way we must follow. If Kodumbara-Odumbara forms a pair in Middle-Indian, corresponding to Udumbara in Sanskrit, it comes from the form Kudumbara.³⁶ Isolating the prefix *ku*, it is to be seen whether the element *dumbara* can be explained in such a group of non-Aryan languages. Briefly, the point of research is whether *kudumbara* derives normally from an Austro-Asiatic root by the prefix *ku*.

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* *

The flora of India possesses a kind of bitter apple which is called by the Botanists *lagenaria vulgaris* and which, like a great number of cucurbitaceous plants, originates undoubtedly in eastern Asia. In Sanskrit the name of the plant is *Tumbā*; we also find *Tumbī* and *Tumbuka*. We can hardly separate the word *Goḍumba* which means water-melon and also a sort of cucumber. *Goḍumba* undoubtedly is of the same family as *Tumbā*; the relationship of these words is explained by the analogy of the two fruits.

We know on the other hand that several Austro-Asiatic peoples pretend to be the progeny of a melon or a pumpkin whose every grain gave birth to a man.³⁷ The same myth has passed into the Indian tradition. The wife of Sagara, king of Ayodhyā, called Sumati, to whom 60,000 sons had been promised, gave birth to a pumpkin from which came out 60,000 children (*Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 38; cf. *Mahābhārata*, III. 106; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IX. 8. 8). *Ikṣvāku*, Sanskrit name of the pumpkin or cucumber, was also the ancestor of the kings of Ayodhyā. The Austro-Asiatic myth of pumpkin-ancestors has apparently been transposed in the legends of Sumati and *Ikṣvāku*, both located in Ayodhyā. But, as it frequently appears in Indian literature, it seems that in the second instance, the writers had modified it in order to glorify it. The epic poets could not be satisfied with a pumpkin giving birth to a glorious dynasty. *Ikṣvāku* which properly

36. Similarly the Prakrit Odumbara is derived from the Sanskrit Udumbara. It is probable that the Pali Kodumbara comes from Kudumbara.

37. Cf. Bonifacy, *Cours d'ethnographie indochinoise*, Hanoi, 1919, p. 45; and Cochrane, *The Shans*, Rangoon, 1915, I, p. 120.

means a cucurbit, has therefore been personified in the idea of a hero, son of Manu Vaivasvata (*Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 70. 20-21; *Mahābhārata*, I. 75. 3140) or son of the Ṛṣi Gautama (cf. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 10-11). In the recital of the *Dulva* analysed by Rockhill, he tries to explain the name Ikṣvāku by the fact that the children of Ṛṣi Gautama had been found in a field of sugarcane (*ikṣu*). This play of words cannot be an illusion, and the variants of the epic and the Buddhist traditions relating to Ikṣvāku indicate a period when they both deviated from the popular belief.

Since Tumbā is the name of a bitter apple, and that in the common tradition in India and Indo-China, the ancestor of a family or a tribe can be a cucurbit, it is not surprising that the *Mahābhārata* knew the Tumbumas or Tumburas. This name of the people derived apparently from Tumba in the middle with the affixes *ra* or *ma*, of which the first is particularly frequent in the name of the Indo-Aryans. With regard to the affix *ma*, I have shown already that it is prefixed³⁸ in a certain number of words borrowed by the Indo-Aryans from the Austro-Asiatic languages.

If we completely ignore the pre-Aryan languages, we can already suppose that Kudumbara is a borrowed word in these languages and derives from the name of a cucurbit. But our information is not limited to Sanskrit. In Malayan, *labu* means pumpkin, gourd and other cucurbits (e.g., *labu merah* 'cucurbita moschata'). The corresponding forms are :

Peninsular Malayan : *labu*, *labo*

Khmer : *Ibow*

Batak : *tabu*

Malgache : *tavu*

On the other hand, we have in Sanskrit *lābū*, *alābu*, *ālābū* (cf. Pali *lāpu*, *alāpu*) *Lagenaria Vulgaris*, 'pumpkin, gourd'. The inconsistency of these forms is already the indication of non-Aryan origin. The comparison with the Malayan, the Khmer, etc., confirms that these words have been borrowed from the Austro-Asiatic languages.

Since the Indo-Aryan names of the *Lagenaria Vulgaris* are of the type :—*tumba*, *labu*, it is not immaterial that they had in the east—Batak : *tabu*, Malayan : *labu*.

It appears that on both the island and the continent, initial *L* permutes with *T*. We are apt to believe that the origin of all these forms is an Austro-Asiatic word such as *tumba* with cerebral initial. In fact the Austro-Asiatic languages possessed or still possess a series of cerebrals, and this assertion is important for the study of the Indo-Aryan languages. The role that is attributed to the sub-stratum in the development of the cerebralisation in the Indo-Aryan, the existence of a series of cerebrals in the Austro-Asiatic languages is a matter which should not be neglected.

The cerebral appears moreover in Sanskrit : *goḍumba*, 'cucumber'. This word is explained easily by variation of the ancient word *tumba* by joining a prefix to the initial

38. Cf. *Bull. Sec. Ling.*, Tome, XXVI, p. 98 &c.

guttural and by sonorisation of the intervocalic ζ .³⁹ In the Indonesian languages the names of 'cucumber', *Cucumis sativus*, are also comparable :

Javanese, Malayan, Soundanese : *timun*

Javanese, Malayan : *katimun*

Madurian : *antemon*

The source, from which *tumba* etc. are derived reappears in *timun* where the first vowel has altered the sound and where *mb* has changed to *m*. The prefix to the guttural initial of *goḍumba* is seen again in *ka-ti-mun*, and no doubt, by apheresis, in *antemon* (from *kantemon*). The initial *a* of Sanskrit, *alābu* is probably also the remnant of an ancient prefix.

In Javanese *walu* is the form which corresponds with the Malayn *labu* : *walu* provides surely, by metathesis, *luwa* (*tumba*). This can be seen in several other Indo-Chinese names of gourd—Bahnar : *puol* ; Rongao : *puoel* ; Kha : *par* ; even Annamite : *bau*, *Lagenaria Vulgaris*, pumpkin, gourd'.

We see how the same source is diversified on the vast region where we find them distributed. It is least possible that these variations might be due to the normal change in phonetic laws. We know that the words having a religious value are subject to systematic deviations, the word being confused in its normal form, continues to have the change gradually. The myth of pumpkin-motherhood explains sufficiently the respected belief that inspired the name of this fruit and the modifications it underwent.

In short, it seems that an Austro-Asiatic source such as, *tumba*, accompanied by affixes or not, had meant cucurbit, that is to say vegetables which contained in its pulp a great number of seeds. To the same family belonged the borrowed word of Sanskrit *tumbā*, *tumbī*, *tumbuka*, *goḍumba*, *lābū*, *alābu*, *ālābū*. The same origin is again applicable to other Indo-Aryan names.

Udumbara is the Sanskrit name of *figus glomerata*, a tree native of Burma, and is found also in India mainly in the sub-Himalayan region (Watt, *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, cf. *figus glomerata*). The fruit of this tree resembles the fig of our country with this difference that, it is oval and apparently smaller. Its shape is exactly comparable to those of some small bitter apple, and numerous seeds contained in the pulp adds to the resemblance.⁴⁰ Thus it is not surprising to state a clear analogy between the names of bitter apple : Sanskrit *tumbā*, and *Ficus glomerata* : Sanskrit *udumbara*. We shall see further that the cerebral of *tumba* reappears in Classical Sanskrit from *uḍumbara*. The justification of these comparisons is endorsed by the similar names

39. The cerebral of *tumba* which has disappeared from Sanskrit in the beginning of the word *tumba* is maintained in the middle of the word *goḍumba* ; similarly in certain Austro-Asiatic languages, in Annamite, for example, the ancient ζ initial has become *t* while it is maintained at the end of the word. We shall also see that Sanskrit possesses very few words with cerebral initial.

40. The abundance of grains was certainly to the Austro-Asiatics, the characteristic trait of these fruits to prove the myth of the pumpkin-motherhood to numerous children.

of the *udumbara* in the modern India languages —Santhāli : *lowa* ; Chotanagpur : *dumer* ; Kharwar : *dumer* ; Oriya : *dimeri* ; Nepali : *dumri*. Between *labu*, the Malayan name of different cucurbits, Sanskrit equivalent *lābu*, *walu* in Javanese, and *lowa*, the name of *Ficus glomerata* in Santhāli, the resemblance is as close as possible, and is explainable semantically as well.

What does the initial *u* in Sanskrit *udumbara* represent ? It is possible that the remnant of an ancient prefix having lost its initial, and the analogy of *ketimun*, *goḍumba*, suggests here an ancient guttural. *Udumbara*/*uḍumbara* provide then an old *kutumbara* /*kuṭumbara*, and we are thus brought back by a detour to a hypothesis, formulated previously.⁴¹

It is probably in the same family of words from where comes Sanskrit, *tumba*, *udumbara* etc., that we must seek the origin of the names of musical instruments and of a cast in India. *Lābuki*, a kind of lute, is no doubt derived from Sanskrit *lābu*, 'gourd'.⁴² In Sanskrit the name is *ḍamaru*, in Bengali, a small drum that plays an important role in Indian iconography as the symbol of many divinities (Cf. Curt Sachs, *Die Musikinstrumente Indiens und Indonesiens*, 2nd ed., p. 75). The instrument which is called *ḍāmru* in Marathi, *ḍamrū* in Hindi etc., resembles a sand-box, e.g., a pumpkin with two swellings cut in a way only to create two hemispheres. The analogy of names of this drum with those that meant the fruit *udumbara* in the Indian languages, are then explained by a common resemblance to certain cucurbits. *Ṭamburā* is the name in Marathi for a type of *viṇā* composed essentially of a tube to which are suspended two gourds which serve as sound-box (Curt Sachs, *ibid.*, p. 94). There is no doubt that the instrument owed its name to these two protruding appendages which are suspended to the tube-like pumpkins to their stems.⁴³

41. Of the two related forms which mean fine woollen stuff in Pali, the one has a cerebral—*Koṭumbara*, and the other has none—*Kodumbara*.

42. Cf. similarly the name of a kind of Bengali violin is called *Alābusāraṅgi* (Curt Sachs, p. 131).

43. This *cither*, cannot be confused with a lute which bears almost the same name : Hindi *ṭamburā* (Curt Sachs, *ibid.*, p. 129 & fig. 90), resembles a mandolin whose body should be in the shape of a big gourd. C. Sachs is of opinion that the name of this instrument is the same as the Persian *ṭanbur*, which may be derived by metathesis from *pandur*, the name of lute in the Near East. India might have received *ṭanbūr* from her occidental neighbours and modified the name by analogy with that of *Tumburu*, the king of celestial musicians. It seems in fact that the Hindi *ṭamburā* means an imported instrument from the occident into India, but it is difficult to decide whether the Hindi form *ṭamburā* is due to a contamination by the name of *Tumburu* or by *cither* called *ṭamburā* in Marathi. The latter instrument appears to be indigenous to India and its name can be explained by the two gourds appended to it. Besides, it is not impossible that *tumburu* might have owed its name previously to a musical instrument in the form of a pumpkin or a gourd ; in this hypothesis the name of the king of the Gandharvas included it also in the family *tumba*, *udumbara* etc.

Finally, *ḍomba* means in Sanskrit a low-caste man earning his living by song and music. The word appears in the form *ḍomiva* (*ḍova*), in a list of Mlecchas, borrowed by Weber from the Jaina texts (*Indische Studien*, XVI, p. 332). In the modern languages of India, *dome*, *dhombe*, *dombar*, *dombari*, *dumbar*, *dumbaru* mean degraded aborigines scattered all over India (Hobson-Jobson, cf. *dombe*). It seems that the same non-Aryan word or its variants meant,—a musical instrument in the shape of a pumpkin or a gourd, the aboriginal musicians who played this instrument, and the caste from which these humble rustic fiddlers were recruited.

In short, *udumbara*, Sanskrit name of *Ficus glomerata*, became part of a numerous series of words borrowed by the Indo-Aryan from the Austro-Asiatic. *Udumbara* means at the same time, a country of the Punjab and the inhabitants of this region. We have already observed that in the countries neighbouring the South Sea, the names of the people or the country are often borrowed from the realm of vegetables.⁴⁴ If the word *udumbara* is of Austro-Asiatic origin, it is not surprising that this name of a tree means at the same time a country and a people. On the other hand, the economic and linguistic history forbid us to separate it from *kodumbara*, the name of a variety of woollen goods and of the people who manufactured the tissues. We can then admit that *Udumbara*, *Odumbara*, *Kodumbara* are variants of the same name, signifying an Austro-Asiatic race of the north of India.

IV. THE AUSTRO-ASIATIC AND THE GREEK WORLD.

We know, thanks to the works of T. Graham Bailey, that the north of the Punjab and the neighbouring mountainous zone constitute the only region of Aryan India where the words are susceptible to regular intonation. The phenomenon has been recently studied by J. Bloch in an illuminating article: *L'intonation en Penjabi (Mélanges Vendryès, p. 57 &c)* and the conclusion is: "We are compelled to think of the Indo-Aryan languages on the question of the problem of the substratum because it seems, that these languages belonged, as it had been mentioned at first, to distinct linguistic groups. Unfortunately we are not permitted to consider the Indo-Aryan a recent importation in the regions concerned, or that the population has been supplemented at a recent date. It would be surprising that this country, colonised very early, and visited along the Himalayas through the greater route leading from the Ganges to Kashmir and Iran, had remained till so late, inhabited by people speaking a non-Indian language, unless the matter was significant. In this state of confusion, in spite of researches of ethnologists and historians, our knowledge on the population of the Punjab, until more amply informed, is apt to renounce an historical explanation of facts studied here" (p. 66-67).

The problem of the substratum does no more face us in the same manner, after what we have just said about the *Udumbaras* of the upper Punjab. If these people spoke

44. Cf. G. Ferrand, *Malaka, le Malāyu et Malāyur, G.A.*, 1918, II, p. 108, n. 5; and H. T. Haughton, 'Notes on Names of places in the island of Singapore and its vicinity' (*Journal of the Straits Branch R.A. Soc.*, n. 50, p. 76-82).

an Austro-Asiatic language, we must admit the existence of a non-Aryan substratum in the region where they lived. An objection might arise, no doubt, that these facts observed in the Punjabi "supposing the language were introduced at a modern period, all the developments of the Middle-Indian would be presupposed by its phonetic aspect, and the affected vocabulary would comprehend words of Persian origin." (J. Bloch, *ibid.*, p. 66). Now let us say, the Udumbaras were already thoroughly Hinduised in the 1st. Cent. B. C., since the legends of their coins are written in Prakrit. It seems then that an interval of several centuries had separated the disappearance of ancient inhabitants of the country and the appearance of the intonation.

This objection does not seem to me decisive. The sovereigns of certain Himalayan states issued inscriptions for centuries in the Indo-Aryan, while the mass till today speaks a non-Aryan tongue. The same contrast between the language of the court and that of the people could have persisted for a long time in the land of the Udumbaras. It is permissible to suppose that the survival of the ancient languages had been favoured by the maintenance of local princedom enjoying certain autonomy. Such was perhaps the state of Dahmeri which Cunningham identified as the name of ancient Udumbara (cf. The Indian names of *udumbara* : Oriya : *dimeri* ; Chota Nagpur : *dumeri* ; Nepali : *dumri*). Besides, because the accent affected certain Punjabi words of Persian origin, it is not correct to assume that the intonation did not exist at the time when these words were borrowed. When a language possesses a system of accents, the borrowed foreign word takes necessarily a definite accent. When a Chinese pronounces the name of Napoleon, it is uttered with a modulation of the voice, which remains constant. Can we say that that intonation in Chinese is posterior to the coronation of Napoleon ?

Where was the country of the Udumbaras ? Was it for all time limited to the Sub-Himalayan Zone, or, if not, how far did it spread into the plains ? Our documents are silent on this subject. But, if the substratum explains the intonation of vowels in the Punjabi, the periphery of this phenomenon could have an ethnic significance ; and, since it is observed in the plains to the north of Amritsar, it may be assumed that the Austro-Asians had for a long time lived in this region with their particular language.

The study of place-names further confirms this induction, and we can guess at a larger dwelling place of the Udumbaras. While descending the Rāvi (the ancient Irāvati), we encounter on the right side, at 38° 28' latitude and 72° 9' longitude, a city, near which is a ruined fortress, destroyed probably by Tamerlane in 1398. This city called Tulumba in the *Gazetteer* of Thornton, Tulamba and Talamba in that of Hunter, is the centre of local commerce, and is till today reputed for its carpet (Thornton, *Gazetteer of the countries adjacent to India*, II, p. 227 ; and Hunter, *Gazetteer of India*, 1st ed. Tulamba, 2nd ed. Talamba). The neighbouring fortress described by Cunningham dates no doubt from a very remote period, as it is built with the oldest type of bricks. The names Tulumba, Tulamba, Talamba, inevitably recall the forms analysed above and notably *alābu*, if it is true that, in this word, the element *āb* from *amb* corresponds to *umb* of *ṭumba*.

Descending the river as far as the sea, we find at last a very low region, emerging from the water, called for this reason Kaccha (modern Kacch). In this country, Pliny describes a people named Odonbeores (*Hist. Nat.* VI, Sec. 75). There is no doubt that in the time of Pliny or at least at the time when his informants lived—the Udumbaras still lived in the neighbouring marshes at the isthmus of the Indus.

Far from being confined in a mountainous district, these people appear to have greatly expanded in the Indus basin, and the name of the city Tulumba could be a vestige of their domination. Chased from the middle of the valley, then driven back towards the northeast and the sea by Aryan penetration, the Udumbaras lived undoubtedly, till the beginning of the Christian era, near the sea-coast and the upper Punjab.

The hypothesis of suppression of the Udumbaras separated in two groups by the Aryan attack, renders uniformity in the texts which appeared contradictory. The *Mahābhārata* (II. 52. 1869) names the Audumbaras on the side of Vairāmaka along with the Kaśmīras and other people of the northwest. On the contrary, the geographical list of the Yakṣas in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (V. 51 in the ed., of Sylvain Lévi, *JA.* 1915, I, p. 44 and cf., p. 94-95) names them with the people of the Madhyadeśa; and of the same the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (58. 6-10), according to the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* (14. 2-4; cf. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, p. 82). It does not seem, that we can challenge any of these evidences. The *Mahābhārata* has certainly in view the Udumbaras of the Punjab, and it is probable that other authors intended to imply, on the other hand, the southern Udumbaras.

We can explain in the same manner the apparent inconsistency between the *Divyāvadāna* which shows us the city of Bhadrakāra occupied by the heretics chased out of the Madhyadeśa, and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* which mentions the Bhadrakāras among many tribes occupying the Madhayadeśa (*supra*, p. 4). If it can be identified, as already done by Burnouf, as the name of the city as well as that of the people, the differences of localisation would be analogous to those that separate the Udumbaras of the *Mahābhārata* and those of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. In fact, I have already shown that the city of Bhadrakāra was situated in the northern Punjab.

The same divergences of localisation are frequently seen in the Indian evidences relating to the Austro-Asiatic people. Such is the case of Kośala placed sometimes to the north of the Ganges, sometimes to the south between Bihar and Orissa. The former was Kośala of the north (Uttarakośala) and the other Kośala of the south (Dakṣīnakośala). The 'Bolingae' are mentioned by Pliny (VI. 20) among the peoples of the upper Indus; the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bengali recension, II. 70. 15.) locates the city of Bhuliṅga in the same region. On the contrary, Ptolemy (VII. 1. 69) places the 'Bolingais' to the east of the Ouindion mountain (Vindhya). (Sylvain Lévy, *Pré-aryen et pré-dravidien dans l'Inde*, *JA.*, 1923, p. 17).

In short, if we can draw an imaginary line cutting the Indus in the middle of the valley and following the middle course of the Ganges, we can prove that the same

ethnic non-Aryans appear almost symmetrically to the north and south of this line, which probably represents the axis of Aryan invasion in northern India. All these happened as the Austro-Asiatic people, the Udumbaras and others,⁴⁵ previously established in the Gangetic and Indus valley, had been divided by Aryan penetration into distinct groups who continued to hold the same name for a long time after their separation. We cannot, however, from this community of names, infer an ancient political unity, but only linguistic and ethnic affinities.

That the northern India had been inhabited formerly by people different from the Aryans and Dravidians, is proved not by linguistics only. The testimony of Herodotus (III. 98-102) is of capital importance on this point. He distinguishes, from the north to the south, many categories of Indians. Those who dwelled in the north near deserts, whose manners resembled very much those of the Bactrians, were no doubt, the Indo-Aryans. In the south, lived men, violently routed by Persians, who had a black complexion and resembled the Ethiopians. We can recognise them as Dravidians (Rawlinson, *Inter-course between India and the Western world*, p. 21); but it does not seem to have lent sufficient attention to the Indians whom Herodotus placed between the Aryans of the north and the Dravidians of the south. In this middle zone, the Greek historians distinguish two types of people: the fishermen living in the marshes of the sea-coast and changing their dwellings on the inundated lands, thanks to their boats of bamboos, and behind them the Padaioi nomads who ate cooked meat and even devoured the old folk. This last trait is clearly Melanesian.⁴⁶ The opposition between the continental facades and coastal lines of this civilisation, recalls inevitably the contrast between the Dayaks of the land and the sea in Borneo, between Jakun of the land and the sea in Malacca. The name Padaioi itself seems to imitate closely an ethnic people whose ancient and modern equivalents are easy to find (cf. *supra*, p. 18). Although these indications may be secondary, an important point is seen apart from the texts as a whole. Herodotus knew Indians who were neither Aryans nor Dravidians; he points them out notably in the marshy regions where Pliny later on placed the Odonbeores; he describes them in greater detail than he does other Indians, undoubtedly because his informants knew them better.

45. These remarks are not concerned with the Bhadrakāras, Madrakāras, Mallas, etc., who, we have seen, are not probably solely Austro-Asiatics, and the texts hardly permit us to ascertain their territorial expansion.

46. The Buddhist folklore appears to have preserved for a long time the memory of this custom. The story of *Tsa pao tsang king* (Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes*... No. 400) is about a 'kingdom whose name was k'i-lao "oldmen-rejecter"; in this country, as often as an old man was found, he was driven far away'. It seems that in a certain period or in certain tribes, old men were driven out instead of being consumed. A similar instance is found in another tale of the same collection, (*Tripitaka, Tok.*, XIV. 10, p. 7), analysed by Chavannes (*ibid.*, III, p. 13). Before the introduction of Buddhism the law enjoined the live-burial of the old folk in the kingdom of Benares.

This insistence of Herodotus to speak of the people whom we call Austro-Asiatic, tends to prove that in the 5th cent, contact was already established between these people and Greece. Besides, certain linguistic points strengthen, what I believe can be inferred from the evidence of Herodotus.

In Greek, *Kárpasos* means a fine veil and a cloth of veil; the word appears lately and rarely in the texts, but it does not follow that it was late in the language. Certain words of business, undoubtedly very old, appear in French literature of the 19th cent. The Latin word corresponding to *Kárpasos* is *Carbasus* which means a kind of flax, a veil, a cloth of veil, a sail. The word is old; it is already found in Ennius. In Hebrew, *Karpas* means a light cloth, and it is found in the *Book of Esther*. It is of the post-exile period. We admit generally that *Kárpasos* is borrowed from Sanskrit *kārpāsaḥ* "cotton". R. Fohalle, who has discussed the question recently, concludes in these terms: "From all appearances, that the word originally belonged to the Mediterranean language, as believed by M. Cuny (*l.c.*, to notice the intervocalic *s*), or it was Semitic (cf. Hehn, 163, "mit dem phoenizischen Worte *carbasus*"), or even brought from India, it seems certain to me that Latin has not borrowed it from Greek. If it has been imported from two classical peoples, it is through merchants, obviously Phoenicians, in any case not Greeks..." (*Mélanges Vendryes*, p. 174). I have shown elsewhere that Sanskrit *Kārpāsaḥ*, Greek *Kárpasos* etc., reproduce the name of cotton in the Austro-Asiatic languages, and are no doubt borrowings from these languages (*Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, 1924, p. 69 &c.). How a word that originally meant 'cotton' was made to mean cloth of flax in the Mediterranean world? The common meaning in Hebrew and other classical languages is 'very fine veil.' Certain qualities of Indian cotton became much better than flax in the manufacture of extremely light and transparent veils. These valuable cloths, imported, into the Occident probably by the intermediary of Mesopotamian and Cananean merchants, preserved the ancient Austro-Asiatic name, and this name was similarly preserved when as a result of scarcity of cotton in the Mediterranean region, they manufactured with flax, the finest imitations of the ancient veil of cotton.⁴⁷ We understand, in these conditions, that the Austro-Asiatic name of cotton could have penetrated earlier, without the help of Sanskrit, into the Mediterranean language, and that Latin and Greek took it from Phoenician or other merchants. "If the word comes from India, objects

47. Cotton being more abundantly supplied than flax in the occidental market, we find to-day an inverse phenomenon in French. Linen (*linon*), a derivative of flax (*lin*), was formerly a stuff of thread. Actually the word *linon* (linen) is indiscriminately applied to a stuff of cotton which is an imitation of the thread of linen. The expression "linen of cotton", extant in French to-day, is then comparable to *linon karpasion* in Greek. It is to be noted, indeed, that in ancient times, work had already been started to manufacture the veil of flax in a place where it was particularly fine. Flax of Tarraco (Spain) became famous for its lustre. "It was not less recommendable for its delicacy. It was also there that the manufacture of cambric called *carbasum* was begun. This word was also applied to cotton (*carbasus*)". (Darembert, Saglio et Pottier, *Diction. des Antiq., linum*).

R. Fohalle, why do we have the forms in *Kārp* of Sanskrit, and not a form in *Kapp* of the Middle-Indian ?" (*ibid.*, p. 174). The difficulty disappears if we accept that it is a question of borrowing directly from the Austro-Asiatic languages which possessed precisely a *kar* prefix. Besides, the wavering in the treatment of *b/p* of the labial occlusive, can similarly indicate that the word derives, not from Sanskrit *Kārpāsah*, but directly from the Austro-Asiatic languages where the name of cotton contained at an early date, an intermediary mid-sonant labial between the surd and the sonant.

The name of wild quince tree, another foreign product, appears in the category of words where surd substitutes in Latin the sonant of Greek. R. Fohalle has noticed it, which I reproduce in full : *Kudoonion malon*. Without etymology (see Boisacq, cf.), the quince coming from Armenia and Asia Minor (Hehn-Schrader, 243 ; Schrader, 646 ; Hoops, *Waldhaeume und Kulturpflanzen*, 549 s), may probably be considered of Asiatic origin : *Kodu (malon)* [Alcman, fr. 90 de Bergk] was the authentic form and *Kudoonion* resulted from a popular etymology, the name having been associated with the name of Kudoonia, city of Crete (see the detail in Boisacq ; Huber, *De lingua* , p. 19, remarks that the element *Ku* appears in a series of non-Greek word). It is possible that Latin *mala cotonea* is formed partly in contact with *cotana*, *cottana*, small fig." (*Mélanges Vendryes*, p. 170).

Discussing the same problem with rigorous precision, M. Nehring (*Zum Namen der Quitte* in *Glotta* XIII, 11 &c), came to an analogous conclusion. He admits that it is possible that Latin *cotonea* can be linked to Greek *kudoonia* by the intermediary of the Etruscans, that both the words as well as *kodumalon*, came from Asia Minor, and that *cotonea* is borrowed directly from Latin into a Mediterranean language (*ibid.*, p. 16).

Whatever be the connection between *kudoonia* and *cotonea*, it is certain that the name of quince appears also in the Greek literature in the form of *Kodumalon* and it is very probable that this last word is also Asiatic. Finally the question is, if Latin *cotana*, *cottana* 'kind of small fig', which at first view seems to belong to the same source, is related to *cotonea*.

The difference is not great between *Kodumalon* and (*K*)*udumbara*, *Koṭumbara* ; the passing of *mb* to *m* and the change of *l/r* are current events in India and outside India. (*K*)*udumbara*, name of an Indian fruit, could have travelled towards the West and, like the name of cotton, could be attributed, in course of the journey, to another product. But in the case of cotton and flax, the transfer of name is explained by the resemblance of clothing materials obtained with these textiles, while *Kodumalon* and (*K*)*udumbara* meant two trees or two fruits which, at first glance, have nothing in common. This difficulty is not insoluble.

Ctesias who lived in the 4th cent B.C., was attached to the court of the Kings of Persia as a physician. If it is true that his history of India contained incredible fables, we can admit that, through professional necessity, he knew the flora of India of his time. Now Ctesias describes, (Sec. 14) a tree which grew in the mountainous

region of India, spread as the pine and the almond tree which hardens in water, and bears fruits in bunches. All these characteristics denote exactly Udumbara, a tree of the sub-Himalayan zone, which exudes a thick juice, similar to resin, and which has fruits in bunches. Its name in Botany is *Ficus glomerata*. Ctesias who calls this tree *siptachoras*,⁴⁸ adds (Sec. 19-22) that its hard juice was yellow amber, that the country still produced different varieties of purple,⁴⁹ and that the inhabitants, Cynocephales, exported in exchange of other commodities, the purple, the amber and the fruits of Siptachoras. Let us note in passing that the woollen cloth dyed in purple counted among the most valuable products of the countries in the northwest, and that the country of the Udumbaras produced famous woollen stuff. The Cynocephales who exported the purple and the fruits of Udumbara were no other than the non-Aryans of the sub-Himalayan Zone. That they exported the purple is not surprising; but the Udumbara fruits are not much nourishing; the modern Indians do not eat them during famine (Watt, *Dictionary of economic products of India*). On the contrary, these fruits are frequently used in Indian medicine. It is used as astringent and as anti-hemorrhage; the bark is equally astringent and heals wounds and bites. The root is a remedy for dysentery and the juice mixed with the oil of sesame is used to cure cancer (Watt, *ibid.*). The section on medicine in the *Vinaya* regulates the use of the syrup of *udumbara* (cf. *Dul-va*, III, 59b and Yi-Tsing, *A record of the Buddhist religion*, tr. Takakusu, p. 221).

We understand now why the physician Ctesias described with care the *udumbara*, its country of origin and the trade it developed. Exported from the sub-Himalayan region, its fruits and drugs prepared from the *udumbara* were undoubtedly employed in the empire of the Achamenids which Ctesias had had occasion to visit. These products have ceased to be utilised since long, at least outside India, probably because they have preferred remedies more easily accessible, and also equally effective. The quince is undoubtedly one of the drugs which has replaced *udumbara*. It is the native of the Near East, and its culture is generalised in Europe, while that of *udumbara* scarcely went beyond the Punjab. If the European medicine has finally replaced it

48. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, XXXVII, 2. 29) reproduced the name mentioned by Ctesias (XIV, 1); *arbores eas siptachoras vocari, qua adpellatione significetur praedulcis suavitas*. "I shall be very much tempted", wrote Mr. Benveniste, "to see in *sipta* Av, *Xswipta*-milk (It reminds us of *latex* and of *suavitas*). The group *xsw* is rendered in the Greek transcriptions by *x* or by *s*. Chora(s) is less clear. I hesitate between a derived nominal of root *Xvar*, 'to drink' ('drink') and a deformation of *Xvaraza*, 'soft' (Avesta has only the superlative *Xvarazista*). The second comparison ('Soft [as] milk'?) is well reconciled with the comment of Pliny"; Sans. *Śīṭaphala*=*udumbara*. It seems that Ctesias might have known an Iranian adaptation of *Śīṭaphala*.

49. Ctesias (XIV, 3) notes that one of the varieties of purple is prepared by grinding beetles which live on *Siptachoras*. The account is confirmed by the evidence of Watt, who said with regard to *Ficus glomerata*: "the *lac* insect is reported to occasionally frequent the tree". (Cf. Sanskrit: *kṛmi*, 'insect', red lacquer produced by the insects).

by other products, it is still very much appreciated in the country, and the masses continue to use it. That is why in the classical languages, the quince, an exotic fruit known for its astringent qualities, could bear the name of a very ancient fruit possessing the same qualities.

This is how the name passed from one plant to another. The fruits of (*K*)*udumbara*, exported from India to the Occident for their astringent and antidysenteric qualities, was found there in competition with another fruit, the quince, possessing analogous properties and called by such name as *kutonia*. Between these comparable words meaning similar commodities, a confusion was almost inevitable. *Kodumalon* from *kudumbara* has become another name of quince, and in this form, has passed into Greek as *kutonia*. *Kodumalon* came directly from the Austro-Asiatic languages, independently of Sanskrit, where the name of *Ficus glomerata* appears always without the initial : *udumbara*. On the other hand, if the Austro-Asiatic name of this fruit has become a name of the quince in certain Asiatic languages, a similar transfer could occur in an inverse order. An Asiatic word of the family of name of quince : *cotana*, *cottana*, meant the fruit of *Ficus glomerata*, i.e., 'a kind of small fig' (cf. Hesych : *Kotlana eidos sukoon mikroon*). This is a simple conjecture which, with some further restraint, shall perhaps be more probable.

The history of cotton-flax and *udumbara*-quince would then be comparable. The question will be in both the cases a vegetable product of India which, from a very ancient time, has been exported to the west retaining its Austro-Asiatic name. Later on, the same word began to mean analogous products : one a fine veil, in the case of *Kárpavos*, and the other an astringent drug in the case of *Kodumalon*. If these views are correct, it can be expected that other points will confirm them, proving thus the existence of a wave of exchanges between a non-Aryan India and the Mediterranean world.

V. CONCLUSION.

The investigation that we have followed concerning the people, the language and the commerce of the upper Punjab, has served to bring into limelight the ancient *Udumbaras*. Our conclusions have a force which is carried beyond the frontiers of this people. They allow at least to foresee the solution of different linguistic, historical and prehistorical problems.

From the phonetic point of view, the Austro-Asiatic, and particularly Indian languages, are specially distinguished by the suffle which accompany certain occlusives. The aspirates are numerous and remarkable for their force and their duration⁵⁰; often, as in Khāsi and in the Muṇḍā group, there exists, besides series of aspirated surds, a series of aspirated sonants. These features involve many important consequences.

50. For Khāsi, cf. *Linguistic Survey of India*, II, p. 7. For Santhāli, cf. P.O. Bodding, *Materials for a Santāli Grammar*, I, Sec. 51-54.

We have observed before that, in certain Austro-Asiatic words, an initial occlusive can be reduced to a suffle, then disappears entirely. This mutisation seems to owe to the fact that, in certain conversations, the pronunciation of the initial is accompanied by a suffle. The phenomenon can be observed actually in the Khāsi where an initial *kh* corresponds regularly to *k* of other non-Khmer speeches. This explains the decline of articulation and preservation of the suffle. With the tendency to shorten the words at the beginning as well as at the end,—a tendency which ends in monosyllabism in certain modern languages, a part of the initial, namely the articulation, might have dropped the first, while the suffle survived, provisionally or not.

We know on the other hand that, among the Indo-European languages, the Indo-Aryan alone has preserved, till the historical period, the ancient aspirated sonants.⁵¹ This unique persistence is due, undoubtedly, to the influence of the substratum. Really it appears that the Indo-Aryans colonising the Indus valley mingled with the people who spoke the Austro-Asiatic languages, i. e., languages possessing like the Muṇḍā a series of aspirated sonants. The degree by which the substratum could, from that time, the initial pronunciation in the Indo-Aryan, its action would tend to preserve, if not influence to reinforce, the pronunciation of the aspirated occlusives. The aspirated sonants are in fact maintained in Sanskrit, while it disappears from everywhere else.

On the other hand, in the northern Punjab, the Austro-Asiatic element appears to have been maintained for a long time, and thus explains, in my opinion, the intonation of vowels in the Punjabi. J. Bloch observes that in this language the intonation "depends on the presence of a sonant suffle by the side of the vowel" (*Mélanges Vendryes*, p. 62). This suffle had "commenced by separating itself from the so-called occlusive". (*ibid.*, p. 63), then adding its vibrations to those of the accented vowels, it had thus determined its intonation. For example, the initial syllable *gha* becomes *ká* in the Punjabi of the north. J. Bloch admits that *gh* is divided into *g+h*, that sonant suffle *h*, being added to the vowel has determined the intonation, and that this has finally had an influence in the muffling of the occlusive : *g* to *k*.

This theory is ingenious. It raises sometimes an objection. Is it true that the aspirated sonants become sonant + suffle ? Is it not divided rather in articulation + sonant-suffle ? Undoubtedly *gh* is better composed of *g+h*, but the phonetic reality is different. In fact, *gh*, an aspirated sonant, is composed of three elements : articulation, sonant-vibrations and the suffle. The moment where the suffle tends to dissociate from the occlusive, the element, prolonged in its vocal, could drag away from the vowel, the homogeneous sonant-vibration to those, leaving on the other side, an articulation devoid of glottal vibrations. The evolution *gha* to *ká* would then be explained as the result of a disjunction of the sonant-suffle.⁵² All this appears as if the

51. For some traces of these phenomena in Celtic and in Armenian, see Meillet, *Dialectes indo-européens*, 2nd ed., preface, p. 12-13.

52. It is true that the initials alone are muffled. As J. Bloch (*ibid.*, p. 64) suggests it, the internal sonants can be protected by those which are surrounded by vocalic elements.

energy necessary to produce the intonation was borrowed from a neighbouring consonant which, since then, ceased to be aspirated and muffled.

I have just shown, by admitting, like J. Bloch, that the intonation is a recent phenomenon, explicable by the evolution of the Punjabi; but this postulation itself seems doubtful.⁵³ It is probable, that the tendency to moderate the vowel is an idea anterior to the Punjabi, foreign to the Indo-Aryan, and it might perhaps be reluctant to explain the intonation through the development of the latter. It is difficult in effect to prove that in the Chamba, the intonation exists without producing anything which is reputed to have produced it in the Punjabi: *bhāl*, *ghār*, *ghora*. Here the intonation exists, and yet the suffle has not disappeared; it is not dissociated from the consonant, nor has it "added its vibrations to those of the vowel"; the consonant is not muffled. In the actual state of affairs, it is difficult to accept anything other than hypothesis, more or less plausible. What I have desired to indicate, is that the intonation can be very old in the Punjabi; whether old or recent, it poses problems that will help to resolve by analysing the nature of the substratum.

The history of Indian civilisation becomes equally clear when we study the Austro-Asiatic influences. The advent of the Śuṅgas, towards 180 B.C., appears to have been a prelude to a violent Brahmanic reaction directed against the heterodox religions and particularly against Buddhism. This restoration of ancient Aryan cults was successfully effected in the Madhyadeśa, but it failed in the neighbouring places. In the northwest, it was checked at Śākala, in the south, it did not break seriously into the vice-royalty of Vidiśā.⁵⁴ Henceforth Buddhism took refuge mainly under the heterogeneous people driven back by the advancing Aryans, around the Madhyadeśa; it retired from the centre towards the frontiers of India—Śākala, Gandhāra and Kashmir instead of Mathura; Ujjainī and Ceylon replaced Kauśāmbī. The solid foundation of Buddhism could not be wrecked in the regions where the non-Aryan element had but imperfectly assimilated the Brahmanic civilisation.

The *Mahābhārata*, on the other hand, is the narration of strife between the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas. Both have a close affinity with the Austro-Asiatic people, as is evident from some of their names and customs. Among the most ancient episodes of the great epic, a few related undoubtedly the wars which intended to capture the non-Aryan peoples of India. It is not perhaps an exaggeration to say that the history of the formation of the *Mahābhārata* is to be revised while discussing these new problems.

The study of the economic aspects can equally profit by our researches. Is it not significant that the Indo-Aryans, the masters of the Indus Valley, had so long neglected to settle properly in the upper Punjab, leaving a section of the great commercial route from Takṣaśilā to the Ganges to the command of the Bhadrās and the Udumbaras? It seems that we cannot explain the fact otherwise than by a certain thoughtlessness or commercial inability, of

53. Cf. *supra*, p. 38.

54. Cf. Burnouf, Introduction, 2nd ed., p. 384, and *Legende de l'empereur Aśoka*, p. 93-94 and 302-303.

which the other examples are easily available throughout the ancient history of Indo-European peoples. We know already that the Brahmans abhorred maritime commerce. It does not seem either, that they had been further attracted by the great continental commerce. The development of Buddhism along the trade routes had been favoured by the descendants of the Iranian or non-Aryan caravaniers. From this point of view, the history of Menḍhaka, the episode of Trapuṣa and Bhallika merchants draw decisively the attention of the historians.

The prehistory of India has not yet found its place. We have seen earlier that the Indo-Aryans had penetrated into the centre of the Austro-Asiatic masses and advanced slowly towards the southeast. It does not seem doubtful that before this penetration, the Indus valley had been like that of the Ganges, inhabited by the Austro-Asiatics, from the Himalayan zone to the sea. At the time of Herodotus, the Dravidians were stationed in the south. Can we admit that this too belonged to a very ancient period? We know that the Brahui language spoken in Baluchistan belonged undoubtedly to the Dravidian family.⁵⁵ The Brahui pocket seems to be the witness of a very old linguistic stratum whose extension is difficult to determine. We can suppose that this Dravidian stratum, which had expanded originally from Baluchistan to the Deccan and perhaps all over India, was partly covered up by the Austro-Asiatic stratum. The continental Austro-Asians had driven out the Dravidians from the plains to the highlands, leaving to them the mountains of Baluchistan and the whole or a part of the Deccan. This hypothesis seems to me to be more probable at this stage of our knowledge. If the Dravidians had been strong enough to repulse the Austro-Asians, they would have been established or remained in the rich valleys of the basin of the Indus. But till to-day we find them in the north and the south of this region. It was at a great hazard that they were chased from the intermediary space. I have tried to show elsewhere that the Indo-Aryans had borrowed, as early as in the Vedic age,⁵⁶ a certain number of words from the Austro-Asiatic languages. On the contrary, no borrowing to the Sanskrit from the Dravidian can, till now, be proved with certainty.⁵⁷ It seems that in the regions where the conquering Aryans settled themselves, the Austro-Asiatics had previously imposed their language and undoubtedly also their domination. Meanwhile, new documents of prehistoric archaeology did not fail to present us the new materials. The distribution of the people of India before Alexander had been the result of three successive invasions. First, the Austro-Asiatics crushed the Dravidian element partly, only to allow them to emerge in the north, as the Brahui Pocket,⁵⁸ and

55. See the notice on Brahui in *Linguistic Survey of India*, IV, p. 619 &c.

56. Cf. *Mém. Soc. Ling.*, 1921, p. 208 ; *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, 1922, p. 119, &c and 1924, p. 69.

57. Cf. J. Bloch, *Sanskrit et dravidien*, in *Bull. Soc. Ling.*, 1924, p. 10-21.

58. I do not know whether a satisfactory etymology of the word Brahui was ever proposed, and it does not seem that this ethnic term can be explained by the Dravidian or the Indo-Aryan. On the contrary, a sense may be attributed to it if we admit that

as masses of the Deccan to the south. Then the Aryans, descending to India from the northwest, progressively established themselves in the central valleys of the Indus and the Yamunā, and of the Ganges, and radiated round this source of the Brahmanic culture. Finally, the Bāhlikas, merchants and adventurers, coming from eastern Iran, infiltrated the home of the Austro-Asiatic tribes left alone by the Brahmans; in organising the vast confederations like that of the Śālvas, and in directing their caravans from the west to the east, they prepared the formation of the future empires and assured the liaison between India and the occident.

it was given to the aborigines by the Astro-Asiatic invaders. Among Muṇḍā or Kol languages are classed several dialects called Bīrhār (*Ling. Surv. India*, IV, p. 102 & 208). Bīrhār means man (*hār*) of the forest (*bir*). According to Risley "a small Dravidian tribe of Chota Nagpur who live in the jungle in tiny huts made of branches of trees and leaves..." (quoted in *Ling. Surv. India*, IV, p. 102). Brahui or Birahui (both the names exist) is, in my opinion, another form of the same name. For the discussion on *bira* to *bra*, cf. *supra*, p. 27, I, 1-3. We have seen above (fn. 34) that some of the numerous forms of the group Kol, *kur* 'man' are preserved in the Muṇḍā. The comparison between Bīrhār and Brahui, if it is justified, is instructive, because it shows us that the two Dravidian tribes are strongly influenced, though to a different degree, by their Austro-Asiatic neighbours. The influence on the Bīrhārs has been so profound that even to-day they speak a Muṇḍā language. The Brahuīs, if they ever spoke a Dravidian language, must have at least adopted the name which their neighbours gave them probably long before the beginning of our era. Some facts tend to confirm the hypothesis of the influence of the Austro-Asiatic on the Dravidian either conquered or driven back. Besides, it is to be noted that the Maltos (Dravidian populations who lived in contact with the Kols) remember apparently the invasion of the country by the Gols (cf. *Ling. Surv. India*, IV, p. 456). Although the word Gol might be to-day considered as having the vague idea by the Hindus, its resemblance with the Kol is striking.

Translated from the French by
Chitrabhanu Sen.

This article originally appeared in the
Journal Asiatique, Vol. CCVIII (1926), pp. 1-55
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of the Société Asiatique, Paris



THE SALVAS : AN ANCIENT PEOPLE OF THE PUNJAB

J. PRZYLUKI

"We know that nature has divided the Punjab into two well defined regions, the lower region or the plains and the upper or mountainous region (Kohistan of the muslim writers). Throughout the historic age, from the Vedic time to our day, the Punjab has offered a protected shelter to the native tribes menaced or pursued by the conquering foreigners."¹

In a previous monograph² I have tried to classify the populations of the ancient Punjab. I have distinguished besides the Indo-Aryans, a race probably Iranised, called the Bhadrās or the Madras. I have also identified other tribes called the Austro-Asiatic races. I have shown that beneath these strata there is a substratum of a dark-skinned race, which may be named proto-Dravidian.³

These conclusions, I think, are only provisional and further researches are required. So I propose a second inquiry concerning the Śālvas or Sālvas of the Punjab.

I. SĀLVA AND MADRA.

Alexander, after having crossed the Hydraotes, subjugated the people near this river. Then he learnt that a large number of tribes, the most belligerent among them, the Kathaiois, the Oxudrakais and the Mallois, were waiting under the walls of Sangala. He attacked them and captured Sangala after a difficult siege.

The Kathaiois are obviously the Kaṭhas, a name which means a school of the *Yajurveda*. But nothing more is known to us. The Oxudrakais are the Kṣudrakas and the Mallois are the Mallas, Mālavas,⁴ etc.

The Indian texts associate the Kṣudrakas with the Mālavas and this is also confirmed by the testimony of the Greek historians. The *Mahābhāṣya* (on Pāṇini, IV. 2. 45) cites

1. Vivien de Saint Martin, *Etude sur la Géographie et les populations primitives du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde d'après les hymnes Védiques*. Paris, 1860, p. 102.

2. *Un ancien peuple du Punjab, les Udumbarā*, *JA.*, 1926, p. 1-55.

3. Cf. *Totémisme et Végétalisme*, *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*. 1927, p. 347 &c., and *la Ville de Cakravartin*, in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, Vol. V.

4. A Weber, *Indische Studien*, XIII, p. 374 &c. For the series, *malla*, *mālava*, etc., cf. Rapson, *The Kulatas, a people of Northern India*, *JRAS.*, 1900, p. 529 &c.; *Les influences populaires dans la Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, *BSOS.*, V, p. 303 &c.

a *dvandva* compound, *kṣudrakamālava* and also mentions the opinion of the grammarian Āpiśali on the compound *kṣudrakamālavi*, which means an army (*senā*) of the Kṣudraka-Mālavas.

We also know that the Kṣudrakas became, in certain circumstances, victorious without any aid : *ekākibhiḥ kṣudrakairjitam*⁵. Probably they had to fight without their allies, the Mālavas. They are mentioned elsewhere (commentary on Pāṇini, V. 3. 114), along with the Kṣudrakas, as an 'association of warriors' (*āyudhajīvisamgha*) grouped under the name of Vāhika.

We must believe the generally well-informed Greek historians that the Kṣudrakas and the Mallas, who were till then in a state of hostility, united only in the time of Alexander and under the threat of Greek invasion.⁶

Kṣudraka, 'little', is a significant adjective. It is possible that this epithet has been purposely chosen to mean a people of short stature. As regards that ethnic Malla, which is inseparable from Madra and Mālava, it has, in Sanskrit vocabulary, taken the sense of a wrestler, an athlete.⁷

I have already shown that the Madras were undoubtedly an Iranised population, and we find further new arguments in favour of this proposition. Moreover the coloured aborigines, who for a long time were established in the northern Punjab, were certainly less tall than the Indo-Iranians. So we can assume that Kṣudraka, meaning a people other than the Madras/Mallas, was a generic term which was used to contrast the aborigines of short stature with the stronger and taller men descending from Iran or Afganisthan.

Another similar indication is available to strengthen this conjecture. The Sālvas are mentioned thrice in Pāṇini (Sālva, IV. 2. 135 ; Sālvāvayava, IV. 1. 173 ; Sālveya, IV. 1. 169). The *Candrarvṛtti*⁸ enumerates the tribes who belonged to the Sālva race :

*udumbarāstilakhalā madrakārā yugandharāḥ
bhuliṅgāḥ śaradaṇḍāśca sālāvayavasamjñitāḥ*

'The Udumbaras, Tilakhalas, Madrakāras, Yugandharas, Bhuliṅgas and Śaradaṇḍas, such are the divisions of the Sālvas'.

Since the Madras alias Madrakāras were a part of the Sālvas and the aborigines like the Udumbaras were included in it, we can admit that Sālva is another name of the warrior confederation of the Kṣudraka-Mālavas. Sālva might be the name of a tribe which acquired supremacy over the Kṣudraka-Mālavas. Consequently the chiefs of the Sālvas joined hands with the adventurers coming from the northwest. In the *Mahābhārata* (III.669), Kṣemavṛddhi is a name of a general (*camūpati*) of the king of the Sālvas. On

5. *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, I. 1.24, 4.21 ; V. 3.52. Variant, *Kṣudraih*.

6. Droysen, *Gesch. Alex. des Gr.*, p. 433 &c.

7. Note that the Persian word, *pahlavan* means similarly athlete, hero etc.

8. On *Candra*, II. 4.103.

the basis of this text, Weber has already found a connection between Kṣemavṛddhi and Sālva. Kṣemavṛddhi⁹ designates a warrior-tribe whose women have fine hair :

*Kṣemavṛddhayaḥ kṣatriyāsteṣāṃ tanukeśyaḥ striyaḥ ...*¹⁰

The delicacy of hair like high stature was a distinct characteristic, and the aristocracy was distinguished from the aborigines by this.

The presence of an Iranised element in the confederation of the Sālvas, notably among the Madras, can also explain the term Madrakāra, which is, in the *Candavṛtti*, the third sub-division of the Sālvas. Bartholomew gives the following equivalents of the old Persian *kāra* ; kriegsvolk, heer, truppen, etc. This reminds us the expressions already quoted : *āyudhajīviṣaṃgha* and Kṣudraka—Mālavi (*senā*), and we can also comprehend the meaning of the Iranian element, *kāra*. Madrakāra is a martial tribe of the Madras.¹¹

The Sālva and Bhadra-Madra races also occur in a legend,¹² according to which Vyūṣitāśva had seven children—three Sālvas and four Madras—by his wife Bhadrā Kākṣīvatī. If Sālva and Madra have the same legendary ancestor, it is because they were understood to belong to the same race or perhaps to the same confederation. This inference is supported by a couplet of the *Candavṛtti*. Besides, the name Vyūṣitāśva is a queer form in Sanskrit. It appears that it might have been imitated by the Indian chroniclers from an Iranian word ending in *aspa*, or probably from Vistāspa, the father of Darius and also a famous king contemporary to Zoroaster.

The existence of such races as Bhadra, Madra, Malla, meaning an Iranised population, helps also to explain the diverse names of the capital of the Madras. The well-known Śākala or Śāgala appears to be derived from Śāka, 'Scythians'. The city already bears this name in Alexander's time and this leads, in all likelihood, to prove the first Śāka invasions in India before the Macedonian conquest.

The same city was called Bhadrapura and Bhadrāṃkara.¹³ Bhadrapura means a 'city of the Bhadras' and Burnouf has associated the name of the city Bhadrapura with the people Bhadra-kāra.¹⁴

9. *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini VI. 3. 34.

10. Weber, *Indische Studien*, XIII, p. 374.

11. I am not going to discuss here the forms comparable to Iranian *kāra* in and outside Iran. Morgenstierne has compared this with Pushtu *kor*, "house, family" (*Etymological vocabulary of Pashto*, s.v. J. Charpentier, *Some remarks on Pashto etymology*, *Act. Or.*, VII, p. 188, and the additional note of Morgenstierne, *ibid.*, p. 199 : *kor*, house ; *koṛma*, family ; Punjabi, *koṛmā*. I shall only try to show here that in the Punjab, we find the races, Madrakāras/Bhadrakāras as well as the name Bhadrāṃkara, a city of the same people (cf. *Les Udumbara*)

12. *Mahābhārata*, I. 121. 4695 &c.

13. Cf. *Les Udumbara*.

14. *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien* : 2nd ed., p. 169, n.1.

The list of the Yakṣas of the *Mahāmāyūri*, after having located the *yakṣa* Pramardana at Gāndhāra and the Yakṣa Prabhañjana at Takṣaśilā, adds :

kharaposta mahāyakṣo bhadraśaile nivāsakaḥ.¹⁵

The fact that Kharaposta, differing from the guardian spirits which precede or follow, is here called great *yakṣa*, is very significant. Bhadraśaile, where he resides, 'reminds very closely,' says Sylvain Lévi, 'the name of Bhadraśilā which the city of Takṣaśilā bore in olden times, if we believe the *avadāna* of Candraprabha' (*Divyāvadāna*, p. 328).¹⁶ But Takṣaśilā, which is mentioned in a preceding verse, and where Prabhañjana resides, is not mentioned here. All that we can deduce from the *avadāna* of Candraprabha is that this history was written at a time when Bhadraśilā, placed in the northwest, was not accurately located and was confused with Takṣaśilā, owing to the proximity of the two cities and the similarity of the two names. There is least doubt that Bhadraśilā, where a 'great *yakṣa* ruled' must be the capital of the Bhadras, otherwise called Bhadrapura or Śākala.

It is true that in the beginning of the list of the *Yakṣas*, wishing no doubt to glorify the two oriental and occidental capitals—Pāṭaliputra and Bhadrapura—the author has mentioned them before other cities and provided them for each of the two *Yakṣas* :

*krakucchandaḥ pāṭaliputre sthūṇāyāṃ cāparājitaḥ,
śaile bhadrapure yakṣa uttarāyāṃ ca mānavaḥ*.

Krakucchanda, as well as Aparājita, at Pāṭaliputra near the post of sacrifice ; the *Yakṣa Śaile* is at Bhadrapura and also Mānava in the north (of the city).¹⁷

The second verse only contradicts apparently the verse 33. If Bhadraśilā was another name of Bhadrapura, the powerful *yakṣa*, who dwelt in the acropolis, might have two names : Kharaposta, his actual name, and Śaile, name taken from his residence, literally 'he who lives on the rock (*śilā*)'.

Kharaposta, a name which is translated in Chinese as 'skin of an ass'¹⁸ is yet to be explained. *Khara* means ass in Indo-Aryan, but *posta* does not appear in the Sanskrit dictionaries. Gauthiot, in his study on a similar word *pustaka*,¹⁹ has shown that we can seek its origin in the Iranian *post*, (Avestan : *pasta* ; Pehlvi : *post* ; Persian : *pūst*) 'skin'. Sanskrit *pusta* or *pustaka* is a derivative of an Iranian word meaning 'skin' because *pustaka* is primarily a manuscript written on skin, the use of which spread from Iran to northwest India.

15. Verse 33. It is necessary evidently to write *posto*. This reading is supported by the Chinese transcription, *pou-sou-tou*.

16. *JA.*, 1915, I, p. 74.

17. For this interpretation, which differs from what was suggested by Sylvain Lévi, cf. *Les Udumbara*.

18. For the Chinese forms, cf. Sylvain Lévi, *JA.*, 1915, I, p. 39, and for the explanation of the name, cf. *ibid.*, p. 74.

19. *MSL.*, XIX, 1915, p. 130.

In short, the forms Madrakāras Bhadrāmkaras, the name Vyūṣitāśva, the legendary ancestor of the Madras, the various names of their capital, Śākala, and the *yakṣa* Kharaposta who protects the city, are all of significant indication which prove what profound influence was cast on the people of the upper Punjab by Iran.

II. SĀLVA AND ŚĀRABHA

Udambara, which is a part of the Sālvas, is a name of a non-Aryan people of India, and this ethnic can be explained by the Austro-Asiatic languages. As regards Sālva, the constant vascillation between Sālva and Śālva leads us to presume it as a borrowing from Sanskrit into the Indian languages. First, the word can be separated into a root *sāl* /*śāl* and a suffix *va*, like the word Māla-*va*. Śārabha, another word which occupies a sufficiently important place in the legend, is formed similarly. We can distinguish a root *sara* and a suffix *bha*. The last one is frequent in Indo-Aryan, in names of the animals, *vṛṣabha*, *gardabha*, *karabha* etc. We know that, in Indian languages, the aspirations appear or disappear very easily. The transition is, therefore, possible from *ba/va* to *bha*, and in such a change as between Sālva and Śārabha, there can be no insurmountable obstacle.

It is true that the suffix *bha* is not exclusively Indo-Aryan. There are reasons to believe that it goes back to the Indo-European period, but this does not alter the problematic terms in a sensible way. The existence of an ancient series of animal names ending in *bha* gives rise to a new word formed from the prototype. Moreover, as the non-Aryan suffix *va/ba* was apt to get the form *bha*, we can say that these were used, in Sanskrit, to mean the animal called *śarabha*. Before going to examine in detail whether Sālva and Śārabha are really connected, let us reckon, at first, precise evidences and, if possible, a source of proof. Śārabha, which in the stories often means a fabulous beast, is also the name of an animal resembling a deer. In the *Mahābhārata* (I. 67. 2653). Sālva, the king of the Sālvas, is an incarnation of Ajaka, the *asura*. Aja, the Sanskrit word which means he-goat, reappears in the name of an Udumbara king, Ajamitra.²⁰ It seems that a mythical origin was accepted for certain princes of the Sālvas,²¹ and of the animals of the capridae species. This may draw attention to the similarity, stated already, between Sālva ethnic and the word *śarabha*.²²

I would like to point out that, on the one hand, these two names could be derived from a single non-Aryan source and, on the other, the legends relating to *śarabha* might explain the presence of an ethnic connected with the Indian proper names.

20. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 69.

21. The Udumbaras are a division of the Sālvas.

22. The resemblance between the goat and the deer is striking enough. For the word *aja* might have been used in Sanskrit as an Indian deer of a precise species.

Here are the words which mean deer in the principal Muṇḍā languages :²³

A	B	C
Santhāli : <i>Jel</i>	Korwā : <i>saram</i>	Mahle : <i>harin</i>
Muṇḍāri : <i>Jilū</i>	Khariā : <i>selhop</i>	Dhangar : <i>harin</i>
Birhār : <i>Jelo</i>		Nahali : <i>haran</i>
		Juāng : <i>harina</i>
		Gadaba : <i>harnā</i>

It appears that the same root having a sibilant initial has underwent various transformations in three groups : the sibilant is present in the group B ; it has been mutised in C and palatalised in A. In all the languages of the group A, the vowel as well as the initial are palatalised. The type *jil/jel* of the group A is contrasted by *har* of the group C. The forms, *sar*, *sel* of the group B are intermediaries between A and C.²⁴

Khariā retains very clearly the trace of a suffix *pa* and the aspiration falls on the second syllable.

The forms in Muṇḍā of group A are probably related to the name of a variety of deer, 'mouse-deer', *kancil* in Malayan and *kancel* in the peninsular Malayan.²⁵ We find here a prefix *kan* and a root with a palatalised initial, *cil*, *cel*.

The same variety of deer, 'mouse-deer', also bears the name *be-hol* in peninsular Malayan. Here the root preceded by a prefix with a labial initial *be* shows the same mutisation of the initial as in the Muṇḍā languages in group C.

The Indo-Chinese languages have for 'deer' a series of forms with palatal initial where the final liquid of the root appears to have changed into *i*. This is found frequently in these languages :

Lavé	<i>Jui</i>
Niahon	<i>Jue</i>
Sedang	<i>Joi</i>
Bahnar	<i>Juey</i>
Kon-tu	<i>cui</i>

Finally, Annamite *hu'o'u*, which means a deer of short stature, is linked with the preceding forms, as the diphthong *u'o'* of Annamite corresponds regularly to an ancient *a*,²⁶ and *u* often replaces an ancient final consonant in these languages.

23. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, p. 260-263.

24. The characteristics of the three groups are found in all names borrowed by Sanskrit from the Austro-Asiatic languages : Śalva has a palatal initial and the liquid *l*, while Salva has *s* initial ; in Śarabha, the root appears with *r* ; finally *hariṇa*, deer answers exactly to the Muṇḍā forms of group C.

25. Blagden, *Compar. Vocabulary*. D. 86.

26. Compare *du'o'ng=dang*, *tru'o'ng=trang*, *ngu'o'i=ngai*, etc. The existence of an Annamite form *hu'o'u* from *har* helps to prove that the Sanskrit word *hariṇa*, deer, has been borrowed from the Austro-Asiatic languages.

In spite of the ambiguous character of certain Indo-Chinese forms, those of Muṇḍā, Malayan and Annamite are sufficiently consistent to lend support to the argument. All these appear to be derivatives of a root such as *sal*, *śal*, *sar*, *śar*, and apt to obtain an affix with a labial initial. The words thus formed must have been borrowed by the Indo-Aryan language in these forms : *sālva*, *śālva*, *śarabha*, etc. It remains to be seen whether the popular tradition favours these comparisons.²⁷

III. THE LEGEND OF ŚARABHA

The *Dhūmakāri Jātaka*, No. 413 of the *Jātaka*, terminates with a recital in verse which can be epitomised thus :

A brahmin named Dhūmakāri, a keeper of a flock of goats, day and night lit a great fire which spread dense smoke. During the rainy season some *sarabhas*, tormented by flies, were attracted by the smell of smoke. The brahmin fell in love with the newcomers and neglected his goats which disappeared. In autumn the *sarabhas* returned to their mountains. Dhūmakāri, pale and thin out of grief, remained alone.

This story is told along with the tale of Dhanañjaya, king of the Kurus, who was vanquished for preferring foreign soldiers to his old warriors.

This *jātaka*, placed in its historical perspective, becomes quite clear. It certainly alludes to the great conflict of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas where Dhanañjaya is glorified, and this also refers to the latter's defeat through his alliance with the foreigners. What could be these people if not the hordes of mixed blood who lived on the borders of the Madhyadeśa? They won over the confidence of the king Dhanañjaya as the *sarabhas* settled in front of the hearth of Dhūmakāri. The apologue is remarkable if we admit, as we have tried to show, that the Sālvas, non-Aryan foreigners to the Brahmanic Orthodoxy, are believed to be bound by a religious kinship to certain deer, whose name they bear. If stated otherwise, the Sālvas were mystically identified with the *sarabhas*.

The comparison between the stanzas and the prose portions of the *Dhūmakāri Jātaka* reveal precious evidences. According to the versified tale, the *sarabhas* are feeble animals ; they searched for the fire to drive away the flies which tormented them. In the prose context which is probably very recent, these animals are of golden colour and they live in the Himalayas. We find here the clue to a development through which the *sarabha* is transfigured. Instead of being a feeble animal living in flocks not far from human beings, *sarabha* was gradually transformed into a fabulous creature, unrivalled but almost unapproachable, and brilliant with a golden lustre.

These characteristics are already visible in the *Sarabhamiga Jātaka*, No. 483 of the *Jātaka*, which corresponds in detail to the 25th tale of the *Jātakamālā*.²⁸

27. Sanskrit *Śarabha* has Pali equivalents, *sarabha*, and *sarabhaṅga* by the enlargement of the final. The same enlargement, without the suffix *bha*, could have produced the Sanskrit words *Sāraṅga* and *Śāraṅga* which mean, among other animals, a deer and a kind of antelope.

28. Speyer's translation, p. 227.

The king of Benares, Brahmadata, set out for hunting with his retinue. They surrounded a bush from which came out a *sarabha*. These animals had a remarkable skill to evade the arrows.²⁹ They stooped to pass off the arrow shot by the king, and the arrow took its course. Brahmadata pursued the animal for a long time; they reached a ditch full of filthy water, stinking like hell. The animals went round the ditch where the king had sunk down. *Sarabhā*, who was compassionate and was no other than the re-incarnated Bodhisattva, pulled out the man who had wished him perish from the pit. *Sarabha* also taught him the Five Prohibitions.

Another day, the king went out to the park for target practice. The moment he took aim at the target, Sakka, the king of the gods, caused to appear an image of *sarabha* between Brahmadata and the target. The king refrained from shooting his arrow. Sakka reproached him for sparing a game whose meat was food for the king. The king declared that he could not slaughter the *sarabha* out of kindness.

Sakka replied, "This is not an animal but an *asura*. If thou wilt slay it, thou wouldst become the king of gods. If thou wilt spare him out of kindness, thou, the strongest of all men, wouldst go with women and children to the *Vetaraṇī* of Yama." The king persisted in his virtuous intentions. Then Sakka praised him and granted him longevity. He was also promised a divine status after death.

The last part of the tale is particularly instructive, because it alludes to the beliefs which Buddhist story-tellers condemn, but these have found their place in other Indian environments. *Sarabha* is not an ordinary animal. He is an *asura* and whoever triumphs over him becomes an equal to the king of the gods. This belief is preserved in the brahmanical environments. In the *Mahābhārata* (I.65.2534 and I.67.2663), *sarabha* means an *asura* whose incarnation is the Rājaraṣi Paurava and this reminds us of the Asura Ajaka incarnated as Sālva, the king of the Śālvas. In the *Purāṇas*, the Asura Śarabha is a dreadful monster, with eight paws, stronger than a lion and an enemy of Viṣṇu.

The title Asura is very significant. The *asuras* are contrasted to the brahmanical gods as the aborigines are contrasted to the Aryan race. The non-Aryan gods are *asuras* and the people who worship them are of the same race or nature as the *asuras* (*āsurya*).³⁰

From the account in the stanzas of the *Dhūmakāri Jātaka* and the *Sarabhamiga Jātaka*, the belief developed. From the flock of *śarabhas*, ordinary creatures, emerged *Sarabha*, the fabulous Asura. If, as we have attempted to show, the Śālvas originated from the Śarabhas, this transformation might be defined in our western terminology thus: a kind of animal, which was in old days the totem of the Śālvas was created a fabulous animal who was the god of the Śālvas.

It is very likely that this interpretation of the religious facts may be restored if we can show that at the time when the belief regarding the *sarabha* was being modified,

29. In the *Jātakamālā*, XXV, the Śarabha, although he was strong enough to fight with the king, prefers to run away and thus refrains completely from violence.

30. Cf. The well-known passage in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 8.1.5: *āsuryaḥ prācyāḥ*.

the political situation of the Sālvas developed in a parallel way. It appears to have happened like this.

According to the legend reported in the *Mahābhārata*, Vyūṣitāśva had seven children, three Sālvas and four Madras, by his wife Bhadrā Kākṣivati. These traditions had probably the intention to prove the parentage of the Bhadras and the Madras, by attributing the same ancestor for them, and it was necessary to prove this parentage : because at first sight, the contrast between certain allies was striking, one strongly infused with Iranian blood and the other similar to the Savage aborigines. The legend of Vyūṣitāśva, which was intended to maintain the political cohesion and the moral unity of the Sālva-Madra confederation, was perhaps as old as Confederation itself. It is a matter of much importance that the legend tends to consider the Sālvas as an ethnic element distinct from the Madras.

Absolutely different is the conception gleaned out of the verse already quoted in the *Candrarvṛtti*.³¹ According to this text, Sālva is a name of the confederation which includes the Madras or the Madrakāras. But none of the said tribes bears the name Sālva. Consequently this word ceased to mean a distinct ethnic element. Undoubtedly, this was reserved for the powerful families for whom the supremacy of the upper Punjab was quite guaranteed. Let us recall that Sālva, king of the Sālvas, is the incarnation of the Asura Ajaka. Sālva is, therefore, the name of a prince.

It appears that constant change in the religious ideas could be explained by a transformation in the society. Śarabha, which previously meant a species of animal and an emblem of the Sālva tribe, now means a fabulous beast and becomes divine when the Sālvas have become the royal clan of the confederation. The totem of an ancient tribe has been promoted to the rank of a god, because the chiefs of this tribe had won the supremacy over the neighbouring groups.

IV. THE MAN-DEERS.

Indian folklore is full of *nāgas*, the serpent-men, *kinnaras*, the bird-men etc. To say that these are the vestiges of non-Aryan totemism is a simplified explanation. In certain cases, *nāga*, *kinnara* etc. represent the primitive totems. Often, the hero born of a *nāga* or a legendary animal receives marvellous gifts from his ancestor and becomes a genuine god.

If the Sālvas were related to a species of cervidae, we would not be surprised to encounter the man-deers in Indian folklore. But in every case a thorough examination is necessary to determine the degree of evolution of the religious ideas and to ascertain the deformations which were acquired in course of propagation of these ideas in the Aryan society.

The 14th tale of the *Entretiens de Nang tantrai* relates the adventures of the son of the king Madarāja, who after having studied at Tarkasila (*sic*), marries the daughter of the king of Vidhura.

31. See *Supra*.

I. S. 6—7

He started to gather large flocks of bucks, deer and goats and he fed them in his park. From time to time, when fancy took him, he made them gather in the inner courtyard of the palace. He took hold of his bow and with arrows he killed the buck or the deer, the chief of the flock. Then he freed his soul and caused it to pass into the body of the dead animal and in this form he went to play with the fawns and goats. He returned afterwards to take possession of his actual body and was visible in his form as before the metamorphosis.³²

The course of the story illuminates the passage which is to be mentioned: the king kills the deer and then revives it to life by causing his soul to enter the body of the victim, but another man profits by it for being reincarnated in the lifeless body of the prince. This story came to India through the Indo-Chinese and Mulsim story writers,³³ and in spite of its Avatāras, its source can be guessed. The Siamese version actually states that the prince was a son of the king Madarāja and that he studied at Tarkasīla, that is to say that he had the king of the Madras as his father and he went to Takṣaśīlā. We are here clearly driving towards northwestern India or better, towards the same region of the Sālvās, the man-deers.

Now we understand better the transformations of the legend. The primitive notion of men-deer has been deformed by the people familiar with the conception of transmigration. The king of the man-deers has become a prince who is capable of transferring his soul into the body of a king of the deer. But the motive of this conduct is not at all disclosed to us. Shall we say that it was a game of reincarnation? It is a dangerous game indeed for a king to let his body become lifeless only to enter into the body of a feeble animal. The tale of the *Nang tantrai* also shows clearly the perils which menaced the prince during this adventure. A pretender took possession of his body. In overlooking such risks he evidently fell short of appreciating the perils.

If we set it aside from the Indian belief in transmigration and place it in another religious background, what seemed at first a puerile and senseless game suddenly becomes a matter of highest importance. It is a fundamental belief of totemism that, in order not to degenerate, man must renew his association periodically with his totem. He succeeded, in certain cases, in eating the flesh of the animal with which he was related. We may believe that he could take recourse to some other processes. The sexual union is also a powerful means to enter into the alliance, and this process has naturally indicated that we have in view the reproduction of the species. If the prince of the Sālvās is a man-deer, it is necessary that his race may not degenerate, and that his son should also be a man-deer. In order to obtain this result, it might be necessary that the father should be a real deer or should have originated from it, and that he must be transformed into a deer before impregnating his wife. In the course of our research the importance of this principle will be better understood. Let us remember that this does not only clarify the

32. Lorgeou's translation, *Les Classiques de l' Orient*, Vol. IX, p. 90-91.

33. For an almost similar recital, cf. *Les Mille et un jours*; II., by Petit de la Croix, ed., 1844, p. 83 &c (XIV jour).

14th tale of the *Nang tantrai* but also other similar matters.

In the *Nang tantrai*, the son of the king of the Madras, being transformed into a deer and having had his human body hidden by his companion, went to get hold of the queen, but the deer tried to oppose it. The strife of these rivals in which the queen is a stake makes up the entire theme of the story. The real king finally triumphed because he succeeded in entering into the body of a parrot and informed his wife accordingly. Being pressed by the pretender, she advised him to be transformed into a deer. He obeyed and abandoned the body of the real king in which he could be reincarnated. The last portion of the tale is clear enough that in order to unite with the princess, the body of a deer is indispensable.

In a previous memoir,³⁴ I have shown that the Andhra kings spoke no doubt an Austro-Asiatic language, and their title Śātavāhana could be interpreted as "Son of the horse". We know that they performed the Aśvamedha and that this religious ceremony was completed by a mystic union of the sacrificed horse with the first queen. If the interpretation which I propose for the 14th tale of the *Nang tantrai* is true, the analogy with the affairs of the Andhras is quite obvious. The Andhra princes, "son of the horse" had as father the solemnly sacrificed horse. The 14th tale of the *Nang tantrai* suggests that among the Sālva-Madras, the king was supposed to be incarnated before his union with the queen in the body of a sacrificed king-of-the-deer. The Aśvamedha, in spite of its certain savage practices, is evidently Indo-Aryan on certain counts. The 14th tale of the *Nang tantrai* gave more attention on a masked dance in which a prince dressed like a king-of-the-deer moved among the women disguised as fawns and the ceremony terminated in an orgy as in the Austro-Asiatic betrothals.³⁵ The rites differed from one people to another, but it seems that among the Sālvas as well as the non-Aryan Andhras, the sons of the king were born of a royal animal.

V. THE LEGEND OF RŚYAŚRNGA

The descent in the uterine line, as in the matriarchy, seems to be the foundation of the family among the Austro-Asiatic races of ancient India.³⁶ It is usual, *a priori*, when a man-deer appears in the Indian folklore and is related with a fawn mother. In fact this is what we observe generally.

For example, let us discuss the heroine of a Buddhist tale in *Lieou tou tsi king*.³⁷ Born of a hermit and an antelope, she marries a king and gives birth to a hundred eggs from which emerge hundred sons. In the primitive legend, the heroine

34. *Hippokoura et Satakarni*, *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 273 &c.

35. *Le prologue-cadra des 1001 nuits*, *JA.*, 1924, II, p. 112-117. For the masked dances in ancient China, cf. Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, Paris, 1926.

36. *La princesse à l'odeur poisson*, *Etudes Asiatiques*, Paris, 1925, II, p. 282; *Le prologue-cadra des 1001 nuits*, *JA.*, 1924, II, p. 120.

37. E. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes*, n. 23.

retained the wonderful ability of the antelope who gave birth to her. This explanation can no longer be satisfactory to the Indo-Aryan story-tellers who have accepted a *ṛṣi* as the father of a child.

Such is also the origin of *Rṣyaśṛṅga* or *Ekaśṛṅga*, whose story is found in many texts. In order to give a glimpse of the diversity of the tales, I sum up here the four versions chosen from the Buddhist and Epic literatures.³⁸

I. The following is the first story analysed by E. Senart according to the *Mahāvastu* III, p. 144 &c :

Once upon a time the *ṛṣi* Kāśyapa lived in the hermitage *Sāhañjanī*. An antelope, who swallowed up a little sperm emitted by the saint, gave birth to a child whom the *ṛṣi* recognised as his offspring and reared up in his hermitage. He was named *Ekaśṛṅga*. He was nourished by his mother and he lived in company of all the young animals of the hermitage. They were his playmates. Afterwards he became an attendant of the *ṛṣi* and under his direction he attained the four *dhyānas* and the five *abhijñānas*. Meanwhile the king of Benares who had no son resolved to make *Ekaśṛṅga* his son-in-law and to give him his daughter, *Nalinī*. By the order of the king, his *purohita* led *Nalinī* and her young companions to the hermitage, *Sāhañjanī*. *Ekaśṛṅga* finding them in their sports believed them to be young *ṛṣis*. He admired their costumes which were much more brilliant than their breasts. He relished very well the cakes which he thought to be savoury fruits. In spite of the caresses of *Nalinī*, he however refused to get into their "rolling huts". He saw them followed by the animals which he thought to be antelopes. After parting company with the princess who returned to Benares, he entered the hermitage tranced and deeply moved by those intruders whom he had perceived through extreme closeness to be so different from him. He now began to neglect his general duties. When the boy was questioned by Kāśyapa, it was immediately revealed to him who those visitors were. Kāśyapa warned him that they were not young *ṛṣis* but women, the enemies of penance. He asked him to sever all relations with them. Meanwhile *Nalinī* came again to the hermitage in richly decorated boats. This time *Ekaśṛṅga*, lured by her caresses and sweets, consented to follow her into the "hermitages which moved on water", and the *purohita* married them. These two young people lived together, but without any sexual union. *Ekaśṛṅga* always considered her as a simple comrade. The antelope, the mother of *Ekaśṛṅga*, saw him live with *Nalinī* and heard his story, and she found it very difficult to explain it away to him. There were some mendicants whose hermitage was situated to the south of *Sāhañjanī*, and they refused him

38. The bibliographical informations occur in Lüders, *Zur sage von Rṣyaśṛṅga*, Nachr. K.G.W. Zu Goettingen, 1901, p. 28, &c. Further : Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes*, n. 453, summarised hereafter. Consult moreover B. Laufer, *Chinese clay figures*, 1914, Ch. I ; Charles Allyn Williams, *Oriental affinities of the legend of the Hairy Anchorite : The theme of the hairy solitary in its early forms with reference to Die Legende von Sanct Johannes Chrysostomus*, pt. II, 1926, University of Illinois Press. See finally the review of the last work by Isidore Lévy in *Revue Critique*, May 1929, p. 213.

entry as it was forbidden to men. They told him about their sexes and informed him that Nalinī had been married to him according to the law. The *ṛṣi* to whom he returned at last saw that there was no more any point in separating these two creatures as they loved each other. He sent them to Benares where Ekaśṛṅga later became a king. They had many children and after a long rule dedicated themselves to the life of ascetics. After death he went to the god Brahma.

II. The second recital forms a part of the *King-liu-yi-siang*, the Chinese Encyclopaedia made up of the selected pieces from the Buddhist literature. Chavannes has translated it ³⁹, the summary of which is as follows :

In the kingdom of Benares, a fawn was impregnated by the semen of an ascetic. The child that was born acquired, as he grew, the five supernatural intelligences (*abhijñā*). One day it was raining, and the ground was slippery ; he tumbled and his leg was injured as his legs were not well-proportioned to his body. He got annoyed and pronounced a magical formula and ordered the rain to cease. Drought and famine followed.

At Benares men debated and some one declared that the hermit called Unicorn (Ekaśṛṅga) had caused by uttering a formula the drought which might last twelve years. The king issued an appeal to his people that whosoever would deprive the hermit of his five intelligences would receive half of his kingdom as a reward. A courtesan named Śāntā appeared and promised to seduce the hermit. She departed with five hundred women and with five hundred wagons loaded with drugs and strong liquors.

Disguised as hermits, the courtesans entered into the forest and constructed huts of leaves. They offered flowers, wine and the "pills of joy" to Ekaśṛṅga. As he took these to be fruits and drinking water, Ekaśṛṅga ate drank and bathed with the women. He longed for lustful pleasures and lost at once his supernatural intelligences. It rained for seven days while he resigned himself to pleasures with Śāntā.

He was taken to Benares by the courtesan and made the prime minister. But he became disgusted with mundane pleasures and returned to the forest where he regained the knowledge.

III. Following is the summary of the well-known story in the *Mahābhārata* (III.110) :

An antelope, impregnated by the semen of the *ṛṣi* Vibhaṇḍaka,⁴⁰ gave birth to a child who carried a horn in his forehead and was called Rśyaśṛṅga.⁴¹ He grew in the forest without seeing any other human being except his father. At that time, the country of Aṅga was suffering from a severe drought because the king Lomapāda was guilty of a

39. E. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes*, n. 453.

40. *Vibhaṇḍaka* in the recension of the Grantha character. *Vibhāṇḍaka* in other recensions. The first form is undoubtedly more archaic ; cf. Lüders, *ib.*, p. 46.

41. Rśyaśṛṅga in the later texts. Cf. Lüders, *ib.*, p. 46. We can agree with Lüders that the name Rśyaśṛṅga, "horn of deer", is anterior to Ekaśṛṅga, "unicorn". B. Laufer (*Chinese Clay-Figures*, p. 113) believes that the Chinese versions of the unicorn deer are derived from the Indian conceptions of Ekaśṛṅga. Another problem is to ascertain when and where the ideas of Deer-Horn hero and Unicorn hero are superposed on one another.

sin. The king performed penance and called his ministers, and it was decided to send for Ṛṣyaśṛṅga. In order to compel him to leave the hermitage, a courtesan was sent to him and she put on the appearance of a nun. In spite of the efforts of Vibhaṇḍaka to withhold his son, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga followed the courtesan upto the palace of Lomapāda and the ascetic was led into the female apartments. Rain returned to the land. Lomapāda was grateful and gave his daughter Śāntā to Ṛṣyaśṛṅga. Somebody was successful in pacifying Vibhaṇḍaka who was terribly angry. By the order of his father, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga waited for the birth of his son and returned to the forest followed by his wife Śāntā. She was dutiful to him.

IV. Lastly, the story in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I. 9-11) presents a jumbled up version in which, clearly archaic elements occur :

Ṛṣyaśṛṅga was a son of Vibhaṇḍaka, the son of Kāśyapa. But nobody did talk to him about his mother, nor was his name explained.

Due to the sin of Romapāda, the king of the Aṅgas, a terrible drought occurred. The Brahmins were consulted and they advised the king, "By whatever means, send for the son of Vibhaṇḍaka and give him your adopted daughter, Śāntā".

Skilful courtesans were sent and they entered into the forest and disported amourosly in front of the hermit. He, who never had seen any women, invited the beautiful girl inside his hermitage. They agreed and offered the ascetic some cakes, but did not delay to run away out of fear of Vibhaṇḍaka.

Since their departure, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga became worried. Next day he returned to the place where he had met the courtesans. They ran after him and asked him to follow them. They conducted him into the palace of the king of the Aṅgas and rain returned immediately. Romapāda introduced the ascetic in the women's apartments and gave him his adopted daughter, Śāntā.

Romapāda was the friend of the king Daśaratha, from whom he had adopted the daughter. As Daśaratha had no son he was much grieved. He went to Romapāda and asked for Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, the husband of Śāntā, for a son. The king of the Aṅgas consented to it. Daśaratha adopted Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, who marched triumphantly into Daśaratha's city. He was introduced into the women's apartments and later on the *Horse-sacrifice* was performed. The queens of Daśaratha conceived. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga and his wife took leave of Daśaratha, who had by then four children : Rāma, Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna.

The episode of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga was discussed by H. Lüders, who pointed out as early as 1897⁴² that the *Mahābhārata* did not contain the original legend, but only an altered version. After two years, Dahlmann, in the volume I of his *Mahābhārata Studien*, strongly objected to the ideas of his predecessor and rejected the method followed by Lüders⁴³ as inadmissible. He returned to the same charge in 1901⁴⁴ after he had found

42. Cf. *Nachr. K.G.W. Zu Goettingen*, 1897.

43. *Mahābhārata Studien*, I. p. xxxiv.

44. *Zur Sage Von Ṛṣyaśṛṅga*, *Nachr. K.G.W. Zu Goettingen*, 1901, p. 28-56.

new weapons from a manuscript, in the Grantha character, of the *Royal Asiatic Society*.

In spite of the refutations of Dahlmann, we must admit that Lüders has proved the artificial character of the legend of R̥śyaśṛṅga, as told in the *Mahābhārata* of the present time. It appears that the sending of courtesans particularly to seduce the ascetic and the causes sought for to explain the drought, might be later inventions. But it is not enough to restore, as Lüders has endeavoured to do, the original story of the *Mahābhārata*. It is also required to show the sources of the legend and to explain how it became diversified in a great number of recitals.

In the first Book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the story of R̥śyaśṛṅga begins immediately after the *sarga* VIII which depicts the king Daśaratha as deprived of progeny and desirous of obtaining a son. In the *sarga* XI, Daśaratha, in order to obtain a male descendant, goes to meet Romapāda and asks for R̥śyaśṛṅga. After his entry into Ayodhyā, he is led into the women's apartments and the queens conceive. Since then, we are led to believe that R̥śyaśṛṅga is not actually a stranger to this incident, and that he is the real father of Rāma and the other princes.

Undoubtedly, the poem leads us to believe that Daśaratha had children because he had performed the Aśvamedha and also because Viṣṇu was incarnated in the womb of the queens. These explanations are probably superfluous and might be late additions to the legend of the man-deer.

The relative traditions of the princes born of a divine Deer or Horse have already⁴⁵ been compared. This makes us believe that the Aśvamedha contains in an Indo-Aryan background a store of the Austro-Asiatic beliefs. The legend of R̥śyaśṛṅga helps us to follow the development of these beliefs. The most ancient story is that the mother of Rāma was impregnated by a man-deer, R̥śyaśṛṅga.⁴⁶ Later on, this statement was considered to be vulgar and unworthy of a hero.⁴⁷ So he was made to be born by the virtue of the Aśvamedha, i.e., he is the son of the divine Horse and he himself becomes an Avatāra of Viṣṇu. Lately at least, it is Viṣṇu in person who appears before the queens at night and makes them drink a divine beverage.

By assuming that the man-deer introduced in the female apartments has impregnated the wives of Daśaratha, we do clarify not only the general plan of the *Bālakāṇḍa*, but at the same time we are able to suggest an interpretation of the group of stories of R̥śyaśṛṅga.

The majority of the versions help us to discover a certain concord between these three facts: enticement of the monk, end of the drought and procreation of one or many children. But none indicates clearly the necessary link which binds these events. Many tales as well as causes are brought in to explain the drought. We are at a loss to

45. Cf. *Supra*.

46. Note that Daśaratha, the putative father of Rāma, is himself a son of Aja, "the goat" (*Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 70. 43).

47. The author of the Book I is intolerant as not to mention the gazelle, the mother of R̥śyaśṛṅga.

understand why this calamity ceased after R̥śyaśṛṅga's arrival in the palace. How can the debauch of a hermit appease the annoyed gods or render ineffective a magical formula already uttered ?

The majority of the story-tellers place the drought in forefront and conceal the sexual affairs. It is necessary to give more attention to these, as the Book I of the *Rāmāyaṇa* demands.

In the lower societies, the atmospheric phenomena and the human activities are closely linked up. If a sorcerer pours out water on the earth, this rite can cause rain. Besides, there is a magical link between the rain which fertilizes the earth and the spermatic liquid which impregnates the women. At this stage of the religious development, the coitus of an ascetic and a queen is sufficient to cause rain and to impregnate all the concubines.⁴⁸ Inversely, the prolonged celibacy of a man possessing great magical powers can bring about the drought and sterility of the women.⁴⁹

The story of R̥śyaśṛṅga, looked from this angle, offers a great similarity with the common theme in the Indian folklore. It becomes absolutely necessary to seduce the sage, who by his rigorous *tapas* becomes a menace to the established order, in order to avoid the worst disasters. We find a very realistic notion of the *tapas* at the bottom of all these stories. The ascetic who accumulates a burning power by his prolonged celibacy causes the drought and sterility, and oppresses men and gods. He ends by becoming a menace until a cunning woman puts an end to it.

We have no reason to doubt that in ancient days this important role was played

48. W. F. Albright has shown that the story of R̥śyaśṛṅga offers curious similarity with the Babylonian myth of Sumugan-Engidu : "We may reconstruct the myth of Sumugan very plausibly, after making the necessary alterations, in the form found in GE. The king sends a courtesan to seduce the god or hero of fertility ; with the sexual union the charm is broken, and rain returns to the land. Whether this was the exact form of the myth or not is, of course, doubtful ; it is however evident that all the elements are here, from which precisely such a tale as the R̥śyaśṛṅga-story may be derived in the most natural way. Jensen is certainly wrong in seeing here a direct loan from GE, as the gazelle-mother does not occur in the latter. But it is very probable that our story goes back eventually to a Mesopotamian origin ; in no other case I have seen is the likelihood so great. Indologists who regard all Hindu fiction as autochthonous would do well to read Gaston Paris' posthumous monograph on the origin and diffusion of the *Treasury of Rhampsinitus* (*JAOS*, XL, p. 331)". I have already shown elsewhere that the contact was established between the Babylonian civilisation and the non-Aryan races of India from very ancient times (*Bull. Soc. Ling.* xxvii, 218-229). Therefore, it can be explained that the story of R̥śyaśṛṅga might have been common to the Babylonian and Austro-Asiatic races before its passage to the Indo-Aryan folklore.

49. It does not appear that the theorists were well acquainted with the role of this belief in the matrimonial institutions.

by the queens. The story of Kalmaṣapāda⁵⁰ presents a similar theme : the king, deprived of offsprings, does not hesitate to summon a *ṛṣi*, who takes the king's place with respect to the queen.⁵¹ These traditions have withered away with time, for such practices appear to be prejudicial to the royal dignity. So the story-tellers have accepted the daughter of the king as a substitute for his legitimate queen. Finally, as Lüders has observed, the courtesans have replaced the king's daughter. The most ancient stage of this legend appears again in the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But according to the most ancient recension of the *Mahābhārata*, R̥ṣyaśṛṅga was seduced by Daśaratha's own daughter.⁵² Finally, in the majority of the tales of the present time, the lustful acts are performed by the courtesans, and the *ṛṣi* afterwards marries the princess according to the rites.

There is thus a deviation from the crude and gross primitive theme. At the same time the true cause of drought has been forgotten and the narrators have contrived to discover motives from it. Some wish that the king had committed a crime, while others involve his chaplain in the affair. Others still incriminate R̥ṣyaśṛṅga, who in a fit of anger, uttered a curse. The diversity of these pretexts discloses the distress of the writers in this affair, the origin of which has ceased to be intelligible to them.

VI. THE GOLDEN DEER AND THE CAKRAVARTIN

The legend of R̥ṣyaśṛṅga, which we are endeavouring to interpret, achieved the highest rank of deification of the deer and the disciple. This animal, after having been the religious symbol of a clan and then the protecting spirit of a royal family, now appears as an equal of the greatest gods. It is obvious indeed that the mythical creature, transposed in the legend by the name of R̥ṣyaśṛṅga, is not inferior to Viṣṇu who replaces him in the tale of the *Bālakāṇḍa*. The analogy is very striking between the solar god Viṣṇu, and the golden deer who, according to a story of the *Vinaya* of the Mahāsaṃghikas, soars in the sky every morning like a luminous bird :

The first wife of the king of Benares ascended one morning a high tower and saw a deer of golden colour, which came from the south and returned to the north across the sky. She desired to get its skin to make a pillow from it.

The king summoned the hunters from all over the kingdom and told them, "I want immediately the skin of a deer of golden colour". But none of them had ever seen that animal.

One of the hunters who was expert about the divination of the animals knew that the king of the deer lived in the south, and that his eating place was in the north. This

50. Watanabe, *The story of Kalmaṣapāda and its evolution in Indian literature*, *Journal Pali Text Society*, 1909, 236-310.

51. *Mahābhārata*, I. 122. 4737.

52. Lüders, *Nachr. Gott.*, 1901, p. 30. Like the scholiast of the *Mahābhārata*, Aśvaghoṣa repeats that R̥ṣyaśṛṅga has been seduced by the princess ; cf. *Saundarānanda*, ed. E. H. Johnston, VII, 34.

I. S. 6—8

man, therefore, took his bow and arrows and made for the north and reached the snowy mountain.

In this region there lived a *ṛṣi* who told the hunter, "There is a *nyagrodha* to the south of this mountain ; a king of deer of golden colour often comes flying to perch on the top of the tree ; when he is satiated with the leaves of this tree, he goes from here".

The hunter returned to the foot of the tree and lay in ambush and he saw the king of the deer who came across the sky and perched on the *nyagrodha*. His body diffused a light which illuminated the gorges of the mountain.

The hunter smeared the leaves of the great tree with honey in order to capture the deer. When the animal came to eat, he was attracted by honey and ate the honey-coated leaves. He gradually descended just upto the place where the hunter had laid the snare. Then the deer was captured.

The man took care not to kill the animal for he desired praise for his ability. He went along with the prisoner held in leash.

When the queen saw the deer she leapt with joy. Being carried away with her overwhelming emotions, she stepped forward and held the king of deer in arms. But because of grave pollutions in her heart, this action caused the golden colour of the king of deer vanish from the country.

The queen said, "This deer is no better than an ugly animal. Release him ; let him go away."⁵³

I shall have opportunity to show that this tale is linked with a series of stories in which the animal of golden colour is a solar bird. The particular interest of this piece is that the golden deer is shown here in complete metamorphosis. In certain aspects he resembles the royal animal of the *Śālvās* and in others he is very similar to the solar bird. His adventure shows obvious similarities with that of *Ṛṣyaśṛṅga*.

He rises every morning like the sun above the horizon and flies across the sky only to descend again at last on the opposite side on the top of the trees. It is true that he proceeds not from east to west but from south to north. This really reminds us of the customs of the *śarabha* who, according to the legend, retires to the snowy mountains, that is to say, to the northern region.

The episode of its capture by the hunter appears to be an adaptation of an old myth intended to explain why the celestial animal had been constrained to descend on the earth. This descent was repeated every evening. Some analogous myths are to be observed in these regions and in the islands of the Pacific Ocean.⁵⁴

53. E. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes*, n. 341, extracted from the *Vinaya* of the *Mahāsāṃghikas*, *Tripiṭakas*, Tokyo ed., XV, 8, p. 4a-5b.

54. In the Polynesian mythology, it is with some cords that Maui succeeds in subduing the sun (Danzel, *Sagen und Legenden der Südsee-Insulaner*, p. 33). Elsewhere, it is generally an archer who kills many suns and succeeds to tame the sole surviving sun (Ed. Erkes, *Chinesisch-Amerikanische Mythenparallelen*, in *T'oung Pao* 1925-1926, No. 1, p. 32, &c.

The queen, holding this warm animal in her arms, made him lose at once his lustre. This is an obvious allusion to the decadence of the morning star which, after having illuminated the world, lost finally its force and lustre. Therefore, the legend of R̥śyaśṛṅga gains a new import which extends and completes the interpretation proposed above. The mythical creature humanised in the appearance of a man-deer, parched the whole world by intense heat until he was seduced by a woman. He is no other than the golden deer who lost his brilliant lustre in the arms of the queen of Benares.

Thus the emblem of a tribe, after being transformed into a divine animal, tends to be identified with the sun. The first phase of this metamorphosis may be explained by the organisation of the warrior confederations. Has not the structure of wider associations been alike in relation to the progress of the religious ideas?

The Buddhist tradition gave birth to Śākyamuni and, at the same time, to the four Cakravartins, Prasenajit at Śrāvastī, Bimbisāra at Rājagṛha, Udayana at Kauśāmbī, Pradyota at Ujjayinī.⁵⁵ This tradition, which has a strong possibility to be anterior to Aśoka, tends to prove the existence of the Cakravartins having a limited authority; because each of them possessed at most a quarter of northern India. If we are to believe the Buddhist chroniclers, there were, before Aśoka, some "Kings at the Wheel", commanding a certain number of local *rājās*, and a section of the Mauryas, the reigning monarchs, at least theoretically, all over the Jambudvīpa.

Probably the wheel of the Cakravartin had not only one meaning. It could, according to the circumstance, designate the wheel of a chariot, the *cakra* which the combatants hurled in war, and also the solar disc. But nobody can affirm seriously that the first two meanings were of more importance than the last one. This was the reason for which the *cakra* symbol was chosen. There is no doubt that the Cakravartin came to be identified with the solar heroes, and the kings and heroes were considered as the incarnations of a great god.

We know, in these situations, that the development of the religious ideas had been intimately connected with that of the political institutions. The result of these two series of facts could be visualized still more clearly if the post-Vedic rituals were the object of a systematic research. Unfortunately a greater part of this field is yet little known to us and we are forced to confine ourselves to brief remarks.⁵⁶

M. Winternitz, in the introduction to his edition of the *Mantrapāṭha*⁵⁷ quotes an interesting stanza which was sung among the Sālvas⁵⁸ in the Śimantonnayana ceremony:

*yaugandharireva nō rājeti sālvaravādiṣu
vivṛttacakrā āśinūstīreṇa yamune tava*

(*Mantrapāṭha*, II. 11. 12.)

55. Cf. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 16.

56. Aśvamedha has been recently studied by Dumont. Other sacrifices are bound to be discussed in similar monographs.

57. *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Aryan Series, p. viii, Introduction, p. xlv.

58. *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra*, 14, 4-6.

“Yaugandhari is our king”, say the Sālva women, turning the wheel and seated on thine banks, O Yamunā.’

In connection with this passage, M. Winternitz says, “It is simply impossible to know the exact meaning of this verse, which must originally have formed part of a longer ballad, of which only this one verse has come down to us. Yet thus much is certain that Yaugandhari is the name of a king of the Sālvas, a tribe that must have been living somewhere near the Yamunā”.

This text, in fact, is likely to prove that the Sālvas were established in the proximity of the Yamunā, in the period in which the edition of the *Mantrapāṭha* is placed. This was not, moreover, inconsistent with the domination of the upper Punjab Valleys. Besides, the stanza (II. 11. 12) shall be, in my opinion, much less obscure, if we take it only as a fragment of a ballad. We believe that it includes a formula attached to a fixed rite.

What could have been its application in the domestic ritual, is clear from this that a formula like “Yaugandhari is our king” was sung when a new king was proclaimed, and consequently this had its place in the ceremony which, among the Sālvas, held the place of the Vājapeya.

This conjecture shall appear less rash if it is observed that the Vājapeya ceremony allowed a chariot race during which, according to some authorities, a wheel placed on the top of a post was turned on the right. While the *brahman*, mounted on that wheel chanted thrice the *Vājinām Sāman*.⁵⁹ The rite, observed among the Sālvas, can be clearly compared with that of the Vājapeya, because there the same features occur: a wheel is turned during the chanting of a formula.

If the comparison we seek to establish is justified, the stanza of the *Mantrapāṭha* (II. 11. 12) should be a reference to a particular form of the Vājapeya which was preserved among the Sālvas.

It can be said that such a solemn rite could have passed into the domestic ritual. Let us remember here that the wheel symbol had various imports. A well-known vedic riddle identifies the wheel with the year: “a single wheel has six naves, twelve spokes, three hundred and sixty pegs; what is meant by that?”⁶⁰ Among other meanings, the

59. A. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 142.

60. The antic symbolism of the Wheel of the Time has been concealed in the Vājapeya ceremony undoubtedly for a different conception. The wheel does not describe only the year, but this may also be considered as the sum of the portions of space, because its rays are turned to every direction. The Vājapeya being destined to confer the Universal domination, the conception of the Wheel of Space has naturally prevailed upon the idea of the Wheel of Time, whence the repeated use of the number 17 in the ceremony of investiture. Seventeen represents the entire space: 1 (centre) + 4x4 (cardinal points and their subdivisions).

rotation of the Wheel of Time also suggests the idea of time,⁶¹ and consequently this constitutes a rite for securing longevity. That is why this rite was performed for the benefit of the Kings and the common men.

Thus the rites, which for a long time survived among the non-Aryan people, should be helpful in explaining certain traits of the Indo-Aryan ceremonials. Other survivals of the same order can still help to elucidate the practices which accompanied the coronation of the *Cakravartin*.

The Siamese chronicler of the Suvanṇa Khamdeng begins with a recital which at first describes the origins of the world and which is a kind of *purāṇa*, crowded with Indian names.⁶²

We see at first how the mythical Swine who, in the beginning of the world, dug up earth in the northern region,⁶³ became successively Dhattaraṭha,⁶⁴ then Suvanṇa Khamdeng, son of P'raya Coraṇi.

One day Visukamma⁶⁵ being transformed into a Tharai Kham, that is to say a golden deer, was held up in the park of P'raya Coraṇi.

Being informed by the keeper of the park, P'raya Coraṇi wished to surround the animal in order to capture him alive. But he failed in the attempt and ordered his son Suvanṇa Khamdeng to rush in the pursuit of Tharai Kham and to bring him alive.

Suvanṇa Khamdeng raised an army of twenty thousand men and chose among them thirty-two men, most agile and swift. He made them put on raised turbans having the shape of the ears and horns of Tharai. He made them wear loin cloths of the colour of animal and the extreme end hung like the tail of a deer. Each of the others took snares.

Thirty-two men guided the army on the trail of Tharai Kham. The pursuers stopped only at night. When they slept, Tharai Kham slept also. Whenever there was any attempt to reach him, he would disappear once more. The pursuit continued for two or three months, but none could throw the snare at him even once.

Then Suvanṇa Khamdeng asked for reinforcements of his father. He ordered his officials to raise an army of as many men as grains in three horse-load of sesame, and grains of millet in three bags. On their arrival, he began the pursuit and chased Tharai Kham to the foot of the mountain, Āng Salong. There, the lady In Lao learned that Suvanṇa Khamdeng had brought the pursuers. She went out to see him. She looked at him and after the encounter she fell in love with him and they reciprocated their

61. For the course of time compared with the rotation of wheel, cf. Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran*, Berlin, 1928, p. 36, n. 1.

62. *Annales du Siam*, pt. I ; tr. by C. Notton, Paris, 1926, p. l. &c.

63. Compare the myth of Viṣṇu, who in the form of a wild boar lifted up the submerged world.

64. Dhṛtarāṣṭra.

65. This name corresponds to Viśvakarman, the divine architect.

amorous feelings. They loved each other. She invited him to come into the grotto where she lived, and they enjoyed love with pleasure.

The army, after having encamped there for a very long time, resumed its march under the guidance of Suvanna Khamdeng. Marching through the forests, they arrived at the base of the mountain Usupabatta. There Tharai Kham disappeared and none saw him any more. The camp was laid there and Suvanna Khamdeng was installed among them.

Let us note that it is not a specifically Thai story. A legend, among the Was, attributes the incident of the pursuit of the golden deer to Mang Rai when he conquered the territory of Xieng Tung.⁶⁶ Now the Was spoke a language which is classed in the Austro-Asiatic family and they represented certainly, in Indo-China, an ancient ethnic element. The analogy of these traditions and others which are scattered in the Indian folklore can make us believe in a purely Aryan origin of it, but the facts already studied in this article tend to prove that it is rather a question of an ancient base for the Austro-Asiatic beliefs modified by the Indo-Aryan civilisation, and adopted finally by the Siamese chroniclers to enrich the personalities of their history.

An important point is this that P'raya Coraṇī, who is no more than a tribal chief,⁶⁷ pursued the golden deer in his enclosure and was the founder of a dynasty. Afterwards, his son, who is presented to us as a powerful monarch, an incarnation of the mythical Wild Boar, chases the golden deer through a vast country. Was this chase not a rite for raising the status of *rājā* to the rank of a supreme monarch? We can explain the enigmatic formula of the *Jātaka* No. 483 thus: that he who captures a Sarabha acquires the prowess of the king of the gods, or better, the universal monarchy.

At the same time, the peculiar custom narrated in the 14th tale of the *Nang Tantrai* can be elucidated. The prince of the Madras, who looked after a flock of deer in his park and killed the king of the deer in order to be his substitute for him, strangely resembles P'raya Coraṇī and Suvanna Khamdeng.

The tale of the *Nang Tantrai* leads us to think of the pursuit of the divine Horse, which, according to the *Aśvamedha* ritual, closes with the union of the horse and the queen. The chase of the golden deer in the chronicle of Suvanna Khamdeng reminds again the remarkable long pursuit of the horse in the *Aśvamedha*. The Bride is not to be blamed for this, because Suvanna Khamdeng, having followed the divine animal for many months, met the lady. In Lao called him into her cave, "where they enjoyed love with pleasure according to their fancy."

In the tale of the *Nang Tantrai*, the prince of the Madras take the form of the Deer, the chief of the flock, which is explained by the writers thus: that the prince killed the animal and caused his soul to enter into the body of the victim. I have suggested that there must have been a masquerade in which men, led by their king, danced in the

66. Cf. Gazetteer, I, p. 518, quoted by Notton, *Annales du Siam*, I, p. 4, n. 1.

67. In the chronicle of Suvanna Khamdeng, the name P'raya Coraṇī (from *caura* "burglar"?) is attributed to the first king of the dynasty.

guise of deer. The chronicle of Suvanna Khamdeng justifies meticulously this conclusion :

"He raised an army of twenty thousand men among whom he chose thirty-two men, most agile and swift. He made them put on raised turbans having the shape of the ears and horns of Tharai. He made them wear loin-cloths of the colour of this animal, and the extreme end hung like the tail of a deer".

It is quite obvious that the chase of the golden deer might be a legendary transcription of an analogous scenario which is also at the root of the Aśvamedha ritual. Without taking into account the numerous indications in the chronicle which tend to exaggerate the events, this is how the matters can be put. The king assembled a band of hunters and assumed their leadership. He put a group of agile and swift men in the hunt and they were disguised as deer, and led by the chief who was himself the Golden Deer. After a sustained hunt, the king overtook him and killed him. Then he put on the animal's hide and thus transformed met the queen.

The worth of this suggestion can only be definitely established by a comparative study of the Vājapeya, the Aśvamedha and the Puruṣamedha. An enquiry into its importance cannot find its place in the compass of this article. It will be sufficient to show finally that the ritual scenario and the mythical conceptions which we have reconstructed are perfectly coherent.

The myth of the golden deer in its most developed form appears as a closed phenomenon. The solar animal takes its flights and rises in the sky while its strength and heat grow. He finishes, however, by plunging into the snares of the hunters and its lustre vanishes in the arms of a woman until the dawn when he regains a new vigour.

The theorists of the universal royalty have taken out a portion of this myth in order to propound the theory of a king's power. They desire to identify the King of kings with the God of gods, whose most glorious manifestation was the solar animal. They argue further by solemnly pointing out the career of the god, by ascribing a ritual to him. The ritual permits the human king to become a substitute of the sacrificed god. As a result of the mimic hunting and the sacrifice which follows it, the deification of the king is complete and the sons whom he procreates in the final scene are the genuine sons of the god. The sons were capable of assuring the prestige and the continuity of the dynasty.

VII. CONCLUSION

Cakravartin and the Supreme god are two fundamental conceptions in the history of the Indian civilisation. How were the empires built over the local groups? These two closely connected problems dominate the entire political and religious history. In an article *La ville du Cakravartin*, I have tried to show that the idea of the universal royalty occurred among the great monarchies of the Near-east, and it crept into India also. But this is not a subject of our enquiry.

The study of a particular people will be useful in order to follow profitably the stages of the political and religious developments. I have chosen the Sālvās who, after

an obscure past, emerge suddenly as the leader of a group of tribes living by the military profession. We can assume *a priori* that the "warrior confederations" had evolved a political form balancing the disunited tribes of the prehistoric period and the centralised empires which were emerging at the dawn of Indian history. Besides, we can expect the Sālvās, situated at least partly in these regions of the upper Punjab, which was open for all times to the Iranian influence, to be an object of extremely interesting study. From the enquiry, which we have followed so far and which is going to be complete, some positive conclusions can now be drawn.

In the beginning, the views discussed in a previous article on the Udumbaras have been precisely stated. It appears now, that from the beginning of the Christian era, the people of the upper Punjab were an extraordinarily coloured race. The non-Aryan tribes, who spoke the Austro-Asiatic dialects had been modified by the Aryan invasions, the Achamanid conquest and perhaps again by other population movements which history did not register. In the cross-current of these diverse influences a new society developed where the non-Aryan elements were undoubtedly overwhelmed by the adventurers of mixed breed.

We know some confederations which were grouped under the hegemony of a princely family and their chiefs maintained armed bands feared by the people of the plains. Thus was created a new type of political organisation which was imposed on the ancient independent tribes and so the ground was prepared for future centralised empires.

Parallel to this development, the religious institutions were modified gradually. While the ancient non-Aryan clans preserved their totems, the animal symbol of the powerful families adopted a less impersonal character and became an individualised god. Thus the ancient totem of the Sālvās was replaced by a divine *śarabha* incarnated in the chief of the confederation.

How were these new conceptions, originating among the tribes of plundering hunters, propagated in the Indo-Aryan communities? Multiple causes must have contributed to this consequence. The adventurers from the frontier stations with their army, augmented by the dissidents and outcastes, had been able to succeed more than once in spreading out their dominations over the Aryanised races of the plains. The slow infiltration of the Babylonian ideas, the influence of the oriental despotism, the prestige of the great conquering Achamenids and of Alexander, must have contributed to the recognition of the organisations of the barbarian dynasties.

A religious prerogative was developed to prepare the advent of the King of kings. The former idea came from Chaldea. A system of mythical shows was organised around it and this was sustained by appropriate rites. The mythology and ritual sprung up partly from the primitive indigenous cults in which Aryan elements were integrated.

The ancient divine animal is identified with the supreme god: the *śarabha* became a golden deer, a personification of the heavenly star. At the same time the deification of the claimant to the universal monarchy was accomplished by means of a complicated ceremony in which the Wheel of Space and Time was turned for his benefit. This ritual

reproduced the journey of the solar disc. This becomes incarnated in the sacrificed god and thus his successor was born.

The consequences of this great ideological movement are of considerable importance. It makes us ready for the Aśokan empire and the supremacy of the Buddha, for both of them were Cakravartins. In order to get at the superhuman, the legend brought Śākyamuni at Benares and described him as turning ⁶⁸ the Wheel thrice in the Deer Park.⁶⁹

APPENDIX : THE ORIGIN OF THE VEDIC DIKṢĀ

This article will allow us to take part, upto certain extent, in the controversy about the origin of the *dikṣā*.

The believer, who gets ready to perform one of the solemn Soma sacrifices of which the Agniṣtoma is the model (i.e., *prakṛti*, tr.) will have to yield to an ordeal known as *dikṣā*. On this occasion, two huts are constructed, one for the sacrificer and the other for his wife. He enters into the hut after bathing, dressed in the black antelope's skin and carrying an antelope's horn, which helps him in scratching. His diet is strictly laid down and until the sunset he must remain in the hut.

Hillebrandt, who has observed the "heat-generating" character of the *dikṣā*, connects this word with the root *dah* and has endeavoured to prove that the ceremony was previously a preparatory ordeal to suicide by cremation. This ingenious theory has scarcely found any supporter.⁷⁰

Oldenberg, on the contrary, has only found in the *dikṣā* an analogous ceremony performed among the most backward people. There is no doubt that the *dikṣā* takes us back to a traditional type of primitive sorcery. We recognise all the characteristics of the rites still observed among the savage or the semi-savage hordes in order to rouse ecstastic atmosphere which is suitable for establishing the communion with the gods or the spirits. The procedures for this purpose are fixed : the contemplative immobility in a solitary place, the seclusion in a secret place which no disturbing elements can approach, the corporal mortifications of all sorts, steam-bath and above all fasting. Thus the Zulus declared, "A full stomach cannot have the insight for mystery".

Among the natives of the northwestern America, the sorcerer invited in a festival, gets ready for fasting to starvation and shuts himself up in the darkest corner of his hut, because the custom required that he must look pale and emaciated . . . This retreat to gloom

68. In the Vājapeya, the Vājinām Sāman is uttered thrice while the wheel rotates.

69. Can it be assumed that *Ṛṣipātana* is from *Ṛṣyapatana*? Let us recall that *Ṛṣyaśṛṅga* lately became *Ṛṣyaśṛṅga* and some versions explain this name as "Horn of Ṛṣi".

70. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur*, p. 125-26.

and the confinement on a skin of beast dignify all the preventive measures, displayed endlessly in the primitive cult. The purpose was to shield the supplicants against all harmful influence of the most dangerous or solemn performances. This motif, however, does not appear alone. It is accompanied with, in the primitive *dikṣā*, the motif of heat, which is obliterated in the present descriptions of the revived rite. The skin of antelope, the veil over the head, the proximity of fire are all of heat-producing function.⁷¹

V. Henry ⁷² with a view to propound the Aryan origin of the *dikṣā*, has criticised this explanation and at the same time has made a considerable progress in the interpretation of the rite. "It is quite certain that the approach of the gods are ominous. The sacrificer has also provided himself against those by becoming himself one of the divinities (*sic*) through the *dikṣā*. But how can the *dikṣā* confer on him this extraordinary privilege if it is not exactly a ritual, in fact, the belief of accumulating the largest amount of heat? This heat is the token attribute of persons possessing heat who are the superior gods. The texts tell us nothing of the motif of the ecstasy, and for a very good reason. The sacrificer personally has only to perform the task. He is no more than a layman who does not know how to acquire the superior knowledge, and he is in no need of performing his part in it because in sacrifice his role is confined to carrying out docilely what the officiating priests ask him to do and to say. The priests guide him throughout the sacrifice.

Thus V. Henry has criticised the theory of Oldenberg. V. Henry tries to explain the *dikṣā*, therefore, by the simple statement that heat is the source of life. 'The sacrificer confines himself in a hut, because the wind can never remove him from the heat. He covers himself with a skin of the black antelope in order to add vitality to it and increase it. If the antelope dies in this regime, he will mutter a prayer. He takes only some milk, a food naturally hot by the vital heat itself. Milk is cooked and, at any rate, towards the close of the ordeal, it is almost as hot as he can bear. The sacrificer "retains his voice" because he wastes the *prāṇa* while speaking, and the *prāṇa* is identical or intimately associated with the *tapas*. For the same reason he must never spit, for all these are an integral part of his *tapas*, of which nothing must be lost, so much so, that for his every excretion one penance has been prescribed . . . Perhaps, in order to prove our principle, we shall be willing to know, moreover, why the future sacrificer must only scratch himself, as if it pricks him, with a horn of antelope suspended to his waistband . . . The idea of heat reminds irresistibly of those heat-generating elements, among which the strongest is the sun-god. The sacrificer is a warm embryo covered by a black skin; the sun also, before its ascent, remains enveloped in darkness. Just now both of them will rise full of life, stripping off their gloomy dress. Besides, if it is a question of generating force, we know what is the merited reputation of the antelope and his kin in this respect.

71. Oldenberg, *La Religion du Veda*; tr. by Henry, p. 342-343 & p. 342, n. 2.

72. *Physique Védique*, *JA.*, 1905, p. 404 &c; and cf. V. Henry et Calland, *L'Agniṣṭoma*.

If it is a matter of solar heat, the sun is an antelope, and consequently the sacrificer too. A long debate is not necessary to discover that the capridae rub each other with their horn ... Conclusions : therefore the sacrificer scratches himself only with a horn of the antelope'.

As he was busy, as opposed to Oldenberg, in proving the Aryan origin of the *dikṣā*. V. Henry has only observed that some of his arguments could be set against himself. Surely he has had reasons to accept as a point of departure, the statement that heat is the source of life. But this simple idea is common to all savage races as well as to the Vedic civilisation. In the same way, V. Henry submits a warning note, "the symbolism which represents the solar radiance by a horned and tawny "animal" is well-known in some countries.⁷³ Shall we ignore it in order to choose between the theories of Aryan and non-Aryan origin of the *dikṣā* ?

V. Henry was on the right track when he wrote that the *dikṣā* accumulated in the sacrificer "the largest amount of the heat which was the token attribute of the persons possessing heat". This is indeed the main point. The *dikṣā* originally was to make him who yielded to it the equal of the superior gods. By studying the religious ideas, independently of the *dikṣā*, of the non-Aryan races of the Punjab, we find that the *śarabha* changed himself into a golden deer, the image of the supreme god and the incarnation of the divine king.

We have perceived now some positive similarities between the *dikṣā* and the ceremony of the Royal Consecration. Both accomplish the deification of a mortal by changing him into a deer possessing heat in order to make him an equal of the sun. It is therefore tempting to assign the same origin for the two ceremonies. Nevertheless, this assimilation is not without difficulties.

Can it be that some rites, which were at first part of a ritual of the investiture, were transformed into the preliminary ordeal of the Soma sacrifice ? We have already supposed that the rite, in which the wheel was turned during the proclamation of a king, is closed by the beginning of the domestic ritual. The formula, which was sung in this occasion, provides us with a precious information : "Yaugandhari is our king" sang the Sālvās and so muttered the brahmins, "Soma is our king".⁷⁴ The royalty of Soma explains sufficiently the transfer of some ritual elements of one ceremony into another. We understand that the brahmins, desirous of enhancing the pomp of the Agniṣṭoma had turned to the very solemn and ancient practices.

In spite of this transposition, it only appears that the *dikṣā* was modified profoundly. The *dikṣā* seems to have been a preparatory ordeal to a great religious festivity. The sacrificer is identified with the sun through this rite. It portrays the spirit of the embryonic *śarabha* ready to be born again before its ascent to the luminous world.

73. JA., 1905, II, p. 408, n.l.

74. Mantrapāṭha, II. 11. 13 ; cf. Hir., II. 1. 3 ; Āśv., I. 14. 7 ; Pār., I. 15. 8.

In short, the ceremony of investiture of the ancient Cakravartins probably consisted of a great liturgical drama which had been diversified according to the regions. Nowhere can we have a complete description, but we can reconstruct the main episodes of it. The first act was no doubt the evening preparatory to the royal hunting. This was transformed into a preliminary ordeal of the Soma sacrifice. Other episodes are also incorporated in the brahmanic sacrifices, Aśvamedha, Vājapeya etc, while some scenes which ceased to be enacted, are only more known to us through some stories.

Translated from the French by
Chitrabhanu Sen

This article originally appeared in the
Journal Asiatique, Vol. CCXIV, pp. 310—354.
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